



THE ANCIENT



BRITISH CHURCH



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THE

ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

THE
ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH

A HISTORICAL ESSAY

BY

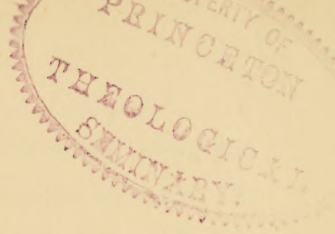
✓
JOHN PRYCE, M.A.

VICAR OF BANGOR

'Attendite ad petram
unde excisi estis, et ad
cavernam laci de quâ
præcisi estis'

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1878



PREFACE.



THE following Essay having been adjudged to be the best on 'The Ancient British Church' of the Essays submitted for competition at the National Eisteddfod of 1876, I have not felt myself at liberty to introduce alterations except in the way of phrase and illustration, together with the addition of some of the Notes and the latter part of Chapter V. The necessity of keeping closely in my treatment of the subject to the lines marked out by the Committee in their programme, is my apology for the disproportionate length at which I have discussed some points, and for the consequent want of symmetry which I feel pervades the whole Essay.

It will probably appear strange to not a few that, when Dissent is so prevalent in Wales, an enquiry into the foundation and subsequent history of the British Church should be considered a question

sufficiently popular and sufficiently far removed from the region of polemics to find a place in the list of subjects chosen for competition at an Eisteddfod. The explanation is not far to seek. The Ancient British Church is rightly regarded as bound up with the past history of the Welsh people, exhibiting both the virtues and the defects of the National character. On the other hand, the Church in Wales at the present time, forced by the policy of the Government and its Episcopal nominees during the Hanoverian period into an attitude of apparent antagonism to all that was dear to my countrymen, has come in a great measure to be considered an offshoot of the Anglican Communion, reflecting and attracting the religious feeling of only the upper and wealthier classes. With time and patience we may hope to remove this impression, but of its existence and of its powerful influence to the prejudice of the growth of the Church, there can be no doubt. It is not the least of the many difficulties they have to contend against who are praying and labouring that the Church may again become a living power in Wales, appealing to and commanding the sympathies of the people.

Of modern authors, I would gratefully mention as those to whom especially I am indebted for information on points bearing on the Irish and Columban Churches, Dr. Reeves, Dr. Todd, Mr. King, Dr. Skene, and Dr. Forbes late Bishop of Brechin. On the differences between Rome and Britain at the beginning of the sixth century, I am greatly beholden to the interesting and, on the non-oriental character of British peculiarities, unanswerable Essay of M. Varin, printed in Tom. V. (Première série) of the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres' (Paris, 1858). From Bishop Basil Jones and Freeman's 'History of S. David's Cathedral' I have derived much help in connection with the early history of the See of S. David's. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's 'Descriptive Catalogue' has been invaluable as a guide to original sources of information, and, in the 'Lives of the Saints,' to the comparative historical value of each separate biographical compilation. Of 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents' (Haddon and Stubbs), I have made continual use, not omitting however to verify the extracts quoted by reference to the original authorities, with a view to see how far the meaning might be qualified by the context.

I trust there is no irreverence in my closing these lines with the words of S. Augustine, slightly altered into the form of a prayer to suit our present needs :

'O æterna Veritas, et vera Caritas, et cara Æternitas, Tu sis Deus noster.'

BANGOR : May, 1878.

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THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH.



INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

‘Divina providentia, quæ, sicut bona, ita pia et justa est, agitur mundus et homo.’—OROSIUS, lib. i. cap. i.

THE FIRST SETTLERS in Britain were probably a branch of the Turanian Family. At that time the principal group of the Westerly section of this family extended, under different names, over the greater part of Europe. The Northern branch was known as Cimbri, the central as Æquitani, colonising partially at least Spain, Gaul, and the British Islands; while the Southern portion, comprising the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi, occupied Italy and Greece.¹ The physical

Original inhabitants of Britain, their physical features, intellectual development, language, and religion.

¹ This view and nomenclature were advocated ably, and at length, in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 256. The whole subject, however, is in so doubtful and shifting a condition, that at present a guess at truth is necessarily almost the highest aim of critical research.

features of the race, judging from those of the Tyrrheni as portrayed in the earlier Etruscan paintings, were shortness of stature, a broad strong frame, with large heads and thick arms, high cheek bones, hair black, or very dark, in small crisp curls.¹ The least progressive of mankind in moral and intellectual development, their language occupied a mid-way position, removed from monosyllabic languages, like the Chinese, but falling short of the inflected languages of the Aryan or Semitic speech.² They were replaced in Europe, the Cimbri by the Goths, the Æquitani, leaving however a residual Basque element, by the Celts, the Tyrrheni by the Latins, and the Pelasgi by the Hellenes. Whether their disappearance in Britain is to be accounted for by a war of extermination or by incorporation, we have no means of judging; probably the former, as we can find no trace of their having influenced the mental qualities, or

¹ Taylor's *Etruscan Researches*, p. 61.

² Bunsen classifies all languages under three heads: '(1) those of the primitive formation—monosyllabic languages, like the Chinese—these he represents as decidedly inorganic, each word implicitly containing the power of a complete phrase in itself, so that thought is, as it were, confined and pulverised in the separate inert molecules which compose the vocabulary; (2) those of the secondary formation—the agglutinative or Turanian languages—as exhibiting peculiarities analogous to the characteristics distinctive of the incomplete organisation of vegetables; and (3) the inflected languages, whether Semitic or Iranian, as completely and spiritually organised.'—Summary of Bunsen's *Linguistic Researches* in Professor Flint's *Philosophy of History*, vol. i. p. 564.

the language, or even the physical character of their successors, unless we attribute to them the sallow complexion, broad shoulders, and dark hair of the Silurians of South Wales.¹ Proofs of their residence in Europe remain in the *cromlech*, which may be traced from the Mediterranean northward, across Russia, to the Caucasus.² The strength and huge size of the masonry not unnaturally led subsequent ages to attribute to it a supernatural origin. Comparing the Turanians with what is known of other kindred tribes, such as the Mongolians, Finns, and Lapps, and judging from the architectural evidence of their tombs, we may gather that they never rose to a clear conception of a spiritual God external to and independent of the outward world, or to the idea of a future state, except

¹ 'Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines.'—Tacit. *Agric. Vita*, c. xi. Compare, 'In the Walloon Country, which surrounds Liège, the people are distinguishable from their Teutonic neighbours by dark, often black hair, gaunt angular forms, square foreheads, and narrow pointed chins : in fact, they have the characters assigned by W. F. Edwards to the Cimbrian race.'—Dr. Beddoe 'On the Physical Character of Ancient and Modern Germans.'—*Report of the British Association for 1857*, p. 118.

² There has been a similar and an equally strange extinction of what must have been at one time a powerful nation,—the mound-builders of North America. The Indians, although in possession from a remote period, have no traditions or even stories to tell respecting these former occupiers, how or when they disappeared, or for what purpose their mound-walls were erected ; they can only give the same reply as would probably have been given by the Celtic Druids of the *cromlech*, 'Our fathers found them here when they came.' A full account is given of the monuments of this forgotten race in *Prehistoric Races of the United States of America*, by Y. W. Foster, LL.D. (1873).

as a long-continued transmigration into different bodies of living beings, ending in annihilation. Their religion is resolvable into a worship of the spirits of Heaven, of spirits of nature, and of ancestral spirits. The last idea found expression in reverence for the tombs of their ancestors, and a desire to perpetuate their memory by rude but gigantic earthworks or immovable and imperishable masses of stone. How prominent this element was in their religious conceptions appears from the Etruscan names of their four great deities, found, with slight variation, in the dialects of the Ugric or Turkic tribes of Siberia—Kulmu, the spirit of the Grave, Vanth, who holds the key of the Tomb, Hinthial, the spectre of the Dead and the image of the Living, and Nathum, the Avenger of innocent blood.¹

Leaving the almost impenetrable darkness which envelops the Turanian colonisers of Britain, and which renders their history mainly conjectural, we are comparatively on historic ground when we come to the century immediately preceding the Christian era. In the meantime, a portion of the Celtic group of the Aryan or Indo-European race had settled in Britain. At what period this immigration took place, or of the circumstances which attended or immediately preceded it, there is no

Cymric immigration.

¹ Taylor's *Etruscan Researches*, pp. 412, 413.

trustworthy record. Minute though varying accounts are given in the Triads and in the old English Chronicles ; but the legendary matter forms so large a portion of, and is so interwoven with, these accounts that we can with safety only extract from them a few leading conceptions, which will admit of more or less historical positiveness : that the immigration was from the East ; that on its way to Europe it traversed the countries adjoining the Black Sea in a series of waves, which became more uneven and broken the further they advanced westward ; and that its impulsive force was only finally spent, when the Gaelic and Cymric tribes reached, successively, and not simultaneously, Britain and Ireland.¹

At the time of the landing of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 55 and 54) the Cymry and kindred tribes peopled the North and West of what afterwards came to be called England, Wales, and Cornwall, Constituent elements of British aggregate. while the South-east and South may have been

¹ In North Wales, particularly in Anglesey, on the Menai Straits and Holyhead side of the island, there are sites of ancient habitations now traceable, usually in clusters of five or more, although at Tymawr, on the Holyhead mountain, they must have formed a considerable village of more than fifty huts. The Welsh people call them *Cyttiau 'r Gwyddelod*. The common etymology of the name, 'Huts of the Gael,' has not been unchallenged ; but the remains seem to point to a prior occupation of the country by a Gaelic race, or, according to another theory, to a reflux Gaelic race, subsequently thrown back from Ireland upon the sea-board of Wales.—*Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, p. 35. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. lxi. pp. 385-400. *Quarterly Review*, No. 174, September 1851.

inhabited by Celts more nearly akin to the Gauls than to the Cymry. It is not impossible that even then the East coast may have been fitfully occupied by tribes which, if not of direct Teutonic origin, were in some degree mingled with Teutonic elements. But, with the last-mentioned possible insignificant exception, we may conclude that the whole island, as far north as Glasgow, was in the possession of a people throughout akin, if not absolutely identical, bound together by the four ties of (1) fellowship of blood, (2) identity of language, (3) a common religion, and (4) like manners and dispositions.

Independently of certain physical features, such, for instance, if we trust all ancient authors, as the
 1. Blood-re- xanthous complexion which characterised
 lationship. the Celtic race, though Strabo describes the Britons as less yellow-haired than their Gaulish kindred,¹ we find deeper and truer proofs of the blood-relationship of the Britons in the national indignation which a foreign attack always evoked. Upon such occasions the sense of organic unity, as distinguished from the mere agglomeration of individuals or of tribes based upon considerations of policy or goodwill, asserted itself, and proved stronger

¹ Ἡσσαν ξανθότριχες. Dr. Beddoe, however, is of opinion that ξανθός and *flavus*, as applied to the colour of the hair, probably meant chestnut, or light brown, rather than bright yellow.—*Report of the British Association for 1857*, p. 117.

than the accidents of mutual estrangement or jarring interests. 'Câs gwr na charo y wlâd ai macco,' became the rallying cry of the whole country, and the native princes or chieftains, laying aside for the time all existing jealousies, united against the common foe, electing, with a view to unity of action, a military dictator, under the title of 'Pendragon.' The Triads significantly record the names of those who, siding with the foreigner or otherwise injuring their country, had ignored the sacred ties of kinship. The full measure of the impression which their conduct had stamped upon the conscience of their countrymen can only be duly realised, when we bear in mind the comparatively late date of these Welsh documents in their present form,¹ and that the names of these men must have been kept alive in the memory for generations before they were committed to writing. 'Du-Bradwr' is the epithet invariably affixed ever afterwards to Avarwy, the Mandubracius of Cæsar or the Androgorius of Orosius; the Triads reckoning him as the first of the three arrant traitors ('carn vradwyr') against the Isle of Britain.²

The Welsh tongue is a member of the Cymric

¹ Stephens, *Literature of the Cymry* (ch. iii. sect. 4), places the collection we have as late as the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

² *Myfyrian Archaeology*, ii. 61.

group of the two divisions into which the modern Celtic languages naturally fall.¹ For in these dialects two distinctive divergences can be clearly discerned, embedded in their very structure, and thus indicating the existence of tribal separations at a very remote period, probably long anterior to the arrival of the Celts in Western Europe. But while there is this line of demarcation between the two groups, there is, on the other hand, evidence of certain analogies and common principles underlying them all, which establishes their descent from an ideal mother-language, and their consequent relationship to each other. For instance, (1) their vocabulary is to a great extent substantially identical; (2) a number of their primitive adjectives expressing the simplest conceptions are the same; and (3) it is one of their peculiarities that, while the irregular forms bear a smaller proportion to the regular forms than is usual,

¹ 'Duæ sunt igitur varietates Celticæ linguæ præcipuæ. Est una *hibernica*, ex qua propagatæ sunt linguæ adhuc extantes hujus generis, in Hibernia ipsa *hibernica hodierna*, et in Britannia in montibus quos dicunt scoticos, *gaelica* (i.e. *gaedelica*, ut Hiberni ipsi suam linguam appellant, media excussa) quæ quamvis tuta in altis alpibus vetustiora monumenta non servavit, attamen in vetusta hibernica fundamentum habet. Altera est *britannica* lingua . . . a qua propagatæ sunt *cambrica*, *cornica*, *aremorica*, quæ omnes possident monumenta plus vel minus vetusta, vivæ et hodie in ore populi, scriptis et carminibus, excepta cornica, quæ jam præterlapso sæculo etiam in vicis regionis Cornubiæ audiri desiit.'—Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, 1871; *Præfatio Auctoris*, p. viii.

these irregular forms bear a very remarkable analogy to each other.¹

To the Cymric group belong, in addition to the Welsh language, the Cornish and the Armorican of Brittany. The connection between the two last-named is closer than between either of them and the Welsh as spoken in modern Wales. The other group, the Gaedhelic, comprises (1) the Irish Gaelic or Erse, (2) the Scotch Gaelic, and (3) the Manx or Gaelic of the Isle of Man. These three members of the Gaedhelic family are much more nearly allied to each other than the three which form the Cymric family; they are also considered older, more westerly than the Cymric, the Gaedhelic standing to the latter in a relation analogous to that of Latin towards all the Greek dialects, with the exception, perhaps, of the old Æolic. The two groups together form what has been termed the Insular branch of the Celtic languages. Their common mother has been supposed to be a sister language of old Gaulish; both of them, however, are now extinct, although old Gaulish was spoken as late as the fifth century. The few remains we have of it clearly show that the Cymric family is the one most nearly identified with it.² This

Welsh
language a
member of
the Cymric
family.

¹ Skene, *The Four Books of Wales*, pp. 121, 122.

² 'Gallicam autem linguam priscam . . . si non fuit eadem que

circumstance reasonably suggests the inference, that the Cymric dialects have preserved more faithfully than the Gaedhelic the features of their mother-language.

So great has been the tenacity with which the Cymry have clung to their language, not only through all the varying crises of two conquests, but through the more trying ordeal of centuries of commercial and social intercourse with England, that so far the so-called prophecy of Taliesin has been verified :—

Vitality of
the Welsh
language.

‘ Eu nêr a folant,
Eu hiaith a gadwant,
Eu gwlad a gollant,
Ond Gwyllt Walia.’¹

Britain is a notable exception to the success which elsewhere uniformly crowned the efforts of the

britannica, huic tamen viciniorem fuisse quam hibernicæ, hæc potissimum ostendunt : 1. Congruentia sonorum quorundam. quibus differt hibernica . . . quæ imprimis animadvertitur in vocibus gallicis et britannicis . . . 2. Terminationes quædam propriæ linguæ britannicæ, et quas ignorat hibernica, apparentes in vocibus gallicis vetustis . . . 3. Sonorum eadem progressio in lingua britannica atque in gallica etiam romanica, operante amplius linguæ gallicæ ingenio, quam progressionem nescit lingua hibernica . . . 4. Voces quædam in nominibus gallicis vetustis et britannicis, quæ desunt in hibernica lingua,’ etc.—Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, Præf. Auctoris, pp. vi, vii.

¹ ‘ Their worship still to God they’ll give,
With them their native tongue shall live,
Their Fatherland and fertile vales
They’ll lose, except the wilds of Wales.’

Romans to extend into the provinces the general use of the Latin tongue. Gibbon classes Britain with Africa, Gaul, and Pannonia, where the language of Rome was, in the time of Agricola, so universally adopted, that the faint traces of the native idioms were preserved only in the mountains, or among the peasants. Hallam disputes the accuracy of this sweeping generalisation; and even Dean Milman admits that the words of Tacitus, on which Gibbon based his statements, merely assert the progress of Latin studies among the higher orders.¹

From the secrecy with which the Druids² veiled

¹ Gibbon's *Roman Empire* (Milman), vol. i. p. 64, and Editor's note *in loco*. What Tacitus really says, is: 'Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.'—*Vit. Agric.* xxi.

² Druidæ, quos Acta nostrorum sanctorum passim vocant magos.'—Colgan. *Actt. SS.* p. 149, n. 15a. The constant use of this Latin word as the equivalent of the vernacular term *Draoithe* = Druids (see Adamnam, *V. S. Columbæ*, Reeves' ed. 1874, lib. i. c. xxix. p. 138; lib. ii. c. xxxiv. p. 174, and c. xxxv. p. 176), gives a clue to the correct derivation of the word 'Druid.' The origin of the term is evidently not the Welsh *Derw*, much less the Greek *δρῦς* (Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 44), but the Celtic *Drai*. Thus, in the Irish MS. of S. Paul's Epistles at Wurtzburg, the gloss on Iannes and Iambres (2 Tim. iii. 8) is 'da druith ægeptaedi,' 'duo druidæ Ægyptiaci' (Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.* i. p. 278). *Draoithe* also stands for 'wise men,' in S. Matthew ii. 1. In *The Song of Trust* (*Miscell. Irish Archæol. Soc.* 1856, vol. i. p. 6), which S. Columba is said to have composed when, a fugitive from the royal palace of Tara, he fled by himself across the mountains, we have:

'Is e mo drai Crist mac De,'
Christ the Son of God is my druid.

their teaching from strangers, we depend in a great measure for our knowledge of the religious opinions and observances of the Britons upon the meagre and varying testimonies of unsympathising outsiders. Their religion, however, seems in its leading idea to inherit the typical note of the Indo-European or Aryan creed,—a profound and moral Naturalism.¹ From this conception of God in nature, underlying and reflected in the visible powers of the universe, arose a certain reverence for all created things, and a gentleness towards every living thing in that it contained a particle of the Divine breath. While avoiding the well-meaning error of attempting to discover in this teaching of the Druids truths peculiar to Christianity, still, in what it implied, that God is the ground—the force of nature, we find a common fundamental conception on which Christianity could build up its own Divine truths, and by preaching living fellowship with the Incarnate Word, it would guide and satisfy the aspirations which Pantheism both fosters and per-

3. Community of religious ideas and observances. Druidism, its distinguishing characteristics.

¹ 'Le culte primitif de la race indo-européenne était charmant et profond comme l'imagination de ces peuples eux-mêmes. C'était comme un écho de la nature, une sorte d'hymne naturaliste où l'idée d'une cause unique n'apparaît que par moments et avec beaucoup d'indécision. C'était une religion d'enfants, pleine de naïveté et de poésie, mais qui devait crouler dès que la réflexion deviendrait un peu exigeante.'—Renan, *De la Part des Peuples Sémitiques dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation*, p. 21 (Paris, 1862).

verts. But as nature is always active in decay or reproduction, the agencies through which it manifests itself assumed to the uneducated but imaginative mind the more intelligible aspect, either of benignant Deities to be honoured with grateful hymns, or of terrible Beings to be propitiated with sacrifices.¹ Hence, with the people, the loving but vague esoteric pantheistic teaching of Druidism developed itself into ordinary polytheism.

But it was in the prominence of the belief in the immortality of the soul that the religious teaching of the Druids² would be especially a prepara-
Immortality of the soul, as taught by the Druids.
 tion for Christian ideas, and, when the time came, a persuasive to their reception. While Julius Cæsar could assert in the Roman Senate without scandal or rebuke, for Cato alone ventured to utter parenthetically a faint dissent, that death was the end of all cares and joys,³ and while Pliny afterwards spoke of the belief in a future state as a childish and pernicious opiate,⁴ and while even Marcus Aurelius reminds himself and others that the hopes of hu-

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 13 ; Pomp. Mela, iii. 2 ; Diod. Sic. v. 31 ; Strabo, iv. 275.

² *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 14 ; Pomp. Mela, iii. 2 ; Lucan, i. 449-453 ; Strabo, iv. 277 ; Valer. Max. ii. 6.

³ Sallust, *De Bell. Catilin.* cc. 51, 52.

⁴ 'Puerilium ista delinimentorum, avidæque nunquam desinere mortalitatis commenta sunt.'—*Hist. Naturalis*, vii. 56.

manity were bounded by death,¹ the Druids taught the existence of something in a man which should survive every possible dislocation of the body, and all the changes wrought by time. And this belief in the soul's continuance was, with them, not a mere speculation of the mind, but a hearty conviction, carrying with it a corresponding moral consequence. Of the conditions, however, through which the soul was supposed to pass in its undying existence, or of the nature of its final goal, varying testimonies have been handed down. According to Cæsar and Lucan, the Druids thought that the soul at death transmigrated from one body to another; but Pomponius Mela understood them to expect its immediate flight into the unseen world. This seeming discrepancy may be reconciled, if we suppose that the ideas of the Druids on this point were not unlike those of the Vedânta sect of Hinduism. The human soul is, as it were, a spark from the all-embracing spirit, to be re-absorbed into the parent flame, whenever, by contemplation and suffering in one or more stages of existence, it has freed itself from whatever disqualifies it for union with the Deity. To some there would be a speedy liberation from the body, and the soul goes straight

¹ "Ὅπως δ' ἐκείνου μέμνησο, ὅτι ἐντὸς ὀλιγίστου χρόνου καὶ σὺ καὶ οὗτος τεθνήξεσθε· μετὰ βραχὺν δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται.—*Meditat.* iv. 6.

to the supreme, and is lost in the eternal source from which it first proceeded. To others—unhappily the majority—ignorance and sin, individualising and isolating the human soul from the pure and divinest being of the unutterable Brahm (*Tad*), involve the necessity that it should pass through a prolonged, if not an infinite series of existences, finally to be degraded to the brutes, or to be raised to the blessedness of admission into the mansions of the gods, though falling short of the highest and ideal end—the annihilation of the individual consciousness in the Divine thought.¹

When to these elevating ideas of the Druids, we add that the sum of their morals was said to consist in worshipping the gods, doing good, and exercising fortitude,² it may appear strange that successive Roman Emperors should issue edicts for the repression of the Order, and that the policy of extermination should at last be sternly carried out. Nor will our wonder be lessened when we consider that the cultivation of a certain feeling of tranquillity or quietism was the chief end of Druidical teaching. Besides, Druidism had an additional claim upon the Roman Power for toleration,

Druidism,
an object of
suspicion to
the Roman
Government.

¹ Colebrooke, *Essays on the Vedânta*, vol. i.

² Καί φασι, τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ Δρυΐδας αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς, καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν, καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν.—Laert. Proœmium, sect. 6.

inasmuch as in common with all Aryan religions it was intensely national, without the capacity or even the desire to proselytise, and thus to extend its boundaries.¹ The reports that the Druids offered human sacrifices,² even if accepted in the grossest form, and not as exaggerated accounts of their custom of inflicting capital punishment with the solemnity and under the sanction of religion, would fail to explain the exceptionally bitter feeling with which the Roman authorities regarded them.³

Rome, under the Empire, was no stranger to the cruel Mithraic rites of the East, nor is it likely that any supposed superstition or cruelty in others would arouse a feeling of indignation in a people among whom there was being introduced the horrible practice of consulting futurity in the entrails of human victims.⁴ Probably the same causes were at work which led to the deadly struggle between the Empire and Christianity. The Roman authorities were tolerant of religious belief so long as it was

¹ 'Le brahmanisme n'a vécu jusqu'à nos jours que grâce au privilège étonnant de conservation que l'Inde semble posséder. Le bouddhisme échoua dans toutes ses tentatives vers l'ouest. Le druidisme resta une forme exclusivement nationale et sans portée universelle. Les tentatives grecques de réforme, l'orphisme, les mystères, ne suffirent pas pour donner aux âmes un aliment solide.'—Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 5.

² Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 30.

³ Sueton. *in Claud.* 25.

⁴ Milman's *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 26.

considered harmless to the national life. But Druidism constituted a highly organised secret society, and as such was calculated to awaken the apprehension and jealousy of the Emperors.¹

The time had come when the Druids were to pass away. Their work had been done, and their continuance might, and probably would, have been a hindrance to the new teachers, Extermination of the Druids in Britain. who, accepting and purifying all that was true in the previous system, should reset the broken fragments of truth, and add the revelation which both included and completed them. We see the Druids for the last time (A.D. 61) as they stand on the gently shelving shore of Anglesey at Moelydon, watching the preparations of Paulinus for crossing the straits, and with uplifted hands invoking the vengeance of Heaven upon the invader. The Roman soldiers were not unconscious of the skill and prudence of their general, or distrustful of their own disciplined valour. This appeal, however, to the powers of the unseen world suggested the possible existence of a higher law between nations than the brutal law of the

¹ The first charge which Celsus brought against the Christians, in his desire to throw discredit upon Christianity, was, that they entered into secret associations with each other contrary to law,—*Πρώτον τῷ Κέλσῳ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι βουλομένῳ διαβαλεῖν Χριστιανισμόν, ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ποιουμένων.*—Origen, *Contr. Cels.* i. 1; Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xi. col. 651.

strongest ; and it was not until they were aroused by the encouraging words of Paulinus and by their own mutual taunts that the advance was made. The massacre, the burning and overthrow of altars, and the cutting down of the sacred groves followed, and Druidism as a religious system became extinct in Britain.¹ In the twelfth century a futile and hardly serious attempt was made by the Welsh Bards to resuscitate certain Druidic ideas. It has been conclusively shown that this new Druidism was a bardic fiction, brought forward for a class purpose—to distinguish by membership in the fraternity of *Prif-feirdd*, and by a consequent air of vague mystery around their persons and phraseology, the bards proper from a less respectable and less gifted class. Notwithstanding the disclaimer of Cynddelw in his address to Rhys ab Gruffudd ('nid achludd eurgrudd argelwch'—it opposes no precious concealed mystery), the new institution was not regarded as free from objections on the theological ground that in its origin and tendency it was subversive of Christianity.²

While not indifferent to the great truth of the unity of mankind, and that race is really the product

¹ Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 29, 30. Druidism survived to a much later period in Ireland ; indications of its continued existence in the time of the Second Order of Saints occur in Adamn. *V. S. Columb.* lib. ii. 34, 35.

² Stephens, *Liter. of Cymry*, ch. ii. sect. i.

of circumstances, it is also equally true that the deep pulse of humanity throbs under a thousand modifications of accident. Each race, while conforming in features, understandings, affections, and passions to the primitive type, which, constituting our collective nature, perpetuates itself in every man, has its own distinguishing features—the result of forces brought to bear upon it for a series of ages. Confining myself to the mental characteristics of the Cymric tribes, I would specify the following traits as especially forming their individuality of character: (1) a highly religious temperament; (2) a certain gentleness of disposition, combined with great impulsiveness; hence, when aroused by a sense of injustice, a state of mind described as ‘the school-boy heat, the blind hysterics of the Celt;’ (3) a recklessness of danger—a feeling fostered by their belief in immortality, and a consequent fearlessness, occasionally amounting to a contempt of life and a longing for death;¹ (4) a deficiency of organisation, showing itself in tribal dissensions, and in the absence of military success,

¹ Lucan, i. 453–457. The Spanish Celts raised temples and sang hymns in praise of death (Philost. *Apoll. of Tyan.* v. 4), and Silius Italicus (i. 225–228) speaks of their passion for suicide:—

‘Prodiga gens animæ, et properare facillima mortem;
Namque ubi transcendit florentes viribus annos,
Impatiens ævi spernit novisse senectam,
Et fati modus in dextra est.’

except when suffering from the immediate pressure of a foreign foe ; and (5) a keen appreciation of the harmony of sound and intense love of music.¹ Their poetry, however, was mainly lyrical, and consisted of short effusions, having a distinct bearing in the way of praise or blame upon actual life, such as might be sung by the bards at the tables or in the halls of their chieftains.² The musical instruments were stringed—the harp and the *crwth*.³ During the years of confusion which followed the usurpation of the sovereignty of Wales by Aeddan ab Blegywryd, Rhys ab Tewdwr, the true heir to South Wales, fled for safety to Armorica, and Cynan, the rightful heir of North Wales, to Ireland. In the year 1077 Rhys returned, and for a time succeeded in establishing his

¹ The minute regulations in the Laws of Howel Dda respecting the privileges and duties of the Bard imply the antiquity and status of the Order. Laws to regulate custom are not enacted until some time after the origin of the custom. The recognition also of a *Pencerdd* points in the same direction in reference to music.

² Lucan, i. 442–444.

‘Ystafell Cyndylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dân, *heb gerddau*
Digystudd deurudd dagrau.’

‘The hall of Cyndylan so dark to-night,
Without fire, *without songs*,
Tears afflict the cheeks.’

Llywarch Hen (550–640), quoted in *Liter. of Cymry*, ch. i. sect. i.

³ The name is descriptive of its shape,—*crwth* = ‘any body swelling out or bulging ; a paunch.’ The instrument had six strings, four to be played with a bow, and two, for bass, with the fingers. The tone of the *crwth* was a mellow tenor.

claim to the throne of South Wales ; in a few years (1080) Gruffudd ab Cynan landed from Ireland, and was equally successful in North Wales. Born and brought up in Ireland, Gruffudd had acquired a fondness for Irish music, and attempted to introduce the pipe into Wales. At an Eisteddfod held under his orders at Caerwys, an Irishman¹ carried away the prize for the skill with which he played on this instrument. But disliked by the people, and ridiculed by the bards, the novelty took no root in the country and gradually died out.²

This short summary of the dispositions and aptitudes which were permeating and moulding the national life of the Britons at the time when the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand, would be culpably incomplete, were we to omit their great

The Briton's
intense love
of country.

¹ 'Ysgodawg.' Prior to the tenth century the Saxon term Scotland and its equivalent Latin form of Scotia were applied exclusively to Ireland. The term Scoti was, however, used in a more extended sense, as descriptive of the Irish people, whether living in Ireland or on the west coast of modern Scotland. Thus Bæda always limits the name Scotia exclusively to Ireland as the 'Patria Scotorum ;' but he also describes the Dalriads as the Scoti 'qui, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos (Pictos) sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt.'

² *Liter. of Cymry*, i. 3. The use of it, however, must have been very general, for we find that at a grand festival held at the Castle of Aberteifi, in 1176, the pipers (*phibydion*) were allowed equally with the harpers and fiddlers to contend for the prize in instrumental music.—*Brut y Tywysog.* ed. Williams, p. 228. Giraldus Cambrensis also reckons it among the national instruments : 'Tribus autem utuntur instrumentis ; cithara, tibiis, et choro.'—*Descr. Camb.* i. xii.; *Opp.* vi. 187.

love of country. This feeling, intensified into a passion, almost into a frenzy, by their traditional belief in the antiquity and glory of their history, and by the merciless hostility of the invader to their priests and altars, gave to their resistance to the Roman, and afterwards to the Teuton, the dignity and inextinguishable determination of a religious war. The Roman writers testify to the fierceness of the struggle before Britain fell under the dominion of the Empire. In the subsequent English conquest it was only after a long and terrible warfare that the Britons were driven beyond the Usk, and that what had been up to that time a policy of extermination passed to the milder form of that of subjugation.

The bearing of these subjects, whose broader and most palpable features alone could be dealt with in

History indicative of a system of Providential designs.

this introductory chapter, upon the early Christianising of Britain arises from the now accepted idea of God's interest in human history. It is the Hebrews that we must credit with the conception that history is not a chapter of isolated and purposeless incidents resulting from the play of the better and worse elements of humanity, but the product of the Divine forethought, which makes use of all human energies as instruments for the accomplishment of a certain purpose. In the darkest hour of their nation's life, when crushed by

the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Hebrew Prophets, with unshaken trust in the overruling goodness of God and in the glorious destinies of their race, looked forward to the triumph of righteousness and truth as the tendency and ultimate end of all things. And this consummation was to be wrought not only out of, but even by means of the seeming confusion and conflict of ages. This ennobling thought was not the least valuable of the many legacies which Judaism bequeathed to Christianity. To history there was thus imparted a significance and a unity hitherto unknown; a philosophy of history became intelligible, and human progression, often in a zig-zag direction and through countless falterings, has ever since been recognised as a general law to be presupposed in all historical speculations. There has indeed been a wide diversity of opinion, not only respecting the working of this general law,—the relation therein of the Divine to the human, or, in the language of a school of thought represented by Schelling,¹ of necessity to freedom, but also respecting what is still of greater importance, the goal or the end of history itself. From a Christian stand-point, however, the manifestation of God in Christ is the mystery which lies beneath the history of the ancient world and interprets it. ‘The foundation of the Christian

¹ *Philosophy of History*, by Professor Flint, p. 426.

Church closes a preparation and development of many thousand years, and is the starting point of a new order in the world. The world before Christ, and the world after Christ—that is, and ever must be, the simplest and truest division of history.’¹ Towards that era, as the centre of history, all lines converge, leading to it or radiating from it. In the fulness of time God sent His Son. The ground had to be broken up and cleared, to render it fit for the reception of the good seed. It was necessary that the tow of humanity should be so prepared, that, when the Divine fire came into contact with it, they both should burn together and none should quench them. ‘There was a fulness of time both for Jews and for Gentiles, and we must learn to look upon the ages that preceded it as necessary under a Divine purpose for filling that appointed measure for good and for evil, which would make the two great national streams in the history of mankind, the Jewish and the Gentile, the Semitic and the Aryan, reach their appointed measure and overflow, so that they might mingle together and both be carried on by a new current,—the well of water springing up into everlasting life.’² In announcing itself to be the Faith of Humanity, Christianity pre-

¹ Döllinger’s Preface to *The First Age of Christianity*, xvii. (Engl. Tr.)

² Max Müller, *On the Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 466.

supposed, as the outcome of this progressive providential guidance of mankind, the existence, prior to the promulgation of itself, of certain fundamental affinities, without which its appeal would awaken no echo in the heart. The traditions, the national habits and tastes—the inherited characteristics of the several nations—were but so many *παιδαγωγοί* bringing them from diverse directions, and along different roads, to Christ. The main object therefore of the philosophy of history ought to be, to point out the progressive restoration in humanity of the image of God stamped on the human soul,—an image whose characters, marred and blurred though they be, are to be found in all the pages of history and whose impress is reflected in the conscience of every individual man,—according to the gradations of grace in the various epochs of the world, from the original revelation down to the middle revelation of redemption and love, which was the principle and power of a new moral life in society, and from that to the last period of final consummation.¹

This survey, necessarily brief, of the conditions and characteristics which made up the national life of the Britons towards the close of the first century, will be sufficient to show that their previous history had been productive of a

Providential preparation of the Britons for the reception of the Gospel.

¹ Schlegel, *Philosophy of History* (Bohn), pp. 211–213.

spirit extremely susceptible to the influence of such a religion as we know that of Christ to be. Herein was the end towards which the various phases through which they had passed had been leading them. This was the totality of the working among them of the threefold law of the historical world,—of Providence, of the permitted power of evil, and of the free play of the human will. In this distant corner of the earth, cut off from the rest of the world, unfrequented except by merchants from the opposite coast of Gaul, a people, who only conveyed to the Roman mind the idea of untamed fierceness, was being prepared, ready for the Lord. Forecasting the whole from the beginning and at length bringing the work to a head, the Divine Logos unveiled Himself to them in the person of Christ, as the realisation of their searching instincts and the fulfilment of their highest hopes. It would be difficult to conceive Christianity being preached to any people for the first time under more favourable conditions. There was hardly a feature in their national character in which it would not find a chord answering and vibrating to its touch. Theirs was not the sceptical mind of the Greek, nor the worn-out civilisation of the Roman, which even Christianity failed to quicken into life, but a religious impulsive imagination,—children in feeling and knowledge, and therefore meet

recipients of the good news of the Kingdom of Heaven. To a people whose sense of future existence was so absorbing that its presentiment was almost too deeply felt by them, the preaching of Jesus and the Resurrection would appeal with irresistible force. There was no violent divorce between the new teaching and that of their own Druids, nor were they called upon so much to reverse their ancient faith as to lay it down for a fuller and more perfect revelation. But perhaps the strongest ally of Christianity would be the impulsiveness and warmth of the national temperament. We can easily picture the scene of the first preaching of the Gospel. As the missionary spoke to his hearers of the great God, by whom heaven and earth were made, for their sake and for their salvation emptying Himself of the glory of His eternal Godhead and becoming man that He might embody before men the image of God's true being, and confer upon fallen humanity the highest honour of which created substance is susceptible, their apparently quiet respectful demeanour would pass into one of admiring wonder. The narrator of the Divine story would then set before them this same Person in the course of His earthly life as full of grace and truth, healing all diseases and manifesting His power over the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and even over the spirits of the unseen world,

but at the last rejected of men, buffeted, spat upon, scourged, crowned with thorns, and of His own free will obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, that He might open to man a way of escape from moral and spiritual bondage, be a propitiation for sin, and reconcile God and His creatures. The preacher would afterwards dwell upon the consoling truths of the glorious resurrection and ascension of this God-man, who in this manner gave a pledge of man's final victory over death, and then transferred to the unseen place of His spiritual agency the same humanity He wore on earth, that He might be throughout all time the ruler and helper of the souls of men, and in the end bring them in triumph unto the place whither He is gone, there to enjoy their perfect consummation and bliss in His eternal and everlasting kingdom.¹ When the speaker held up

¹ Compare with the above the address which S. Augustine is said to have actually made at his first interview with Æthelberht, the heathen king of Kent : ' Jam enim mundi Conditor et idem Redemptor humano generi Regnum Cœlorum aperuit, et de terrenis cœlestes indigenas fecit. Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum ut filium suum unigenitum, sicut ipse Unigenitus testatur, pro mundo daret, ut omnis qui credit in ipsum non pereat sed habeat vitam æternam. Tam enim infinita charitate idem Dei filius homines dilexit quos fecit, ut non solum homo inter homines fieri, verumetiam mortem, mortem autem crucis pro hominibus dignaretur pati. Sic namque placuit ejus ineffabili clementiæ, ut diabolum captivatorem nostrum, non in suæ Divinitatis majestate, sed in nostræ carnis infirmitate elideret; et nos debitam prædam per indebitam crucis pœnam a faucibus impiissimi tyranni erueret. Cujus incarnata Divinitas innumeris virtutum claruit ostentis, omni debilitate curata, omni virtute patrata; cœlo, sideribus, terra, mari, inferno se omnium Deum et

to the contemplation of his listeners the Saviour suffering and dying, his utterances would at intervals be interrupted by the half-stifled sighs of some of those present, until at last their feelings, gradually surging up, could no longer be restrained, breaking forth into loud lamentation. Now, when he had finished, the silence that for a few moments ensued would give place to exclamations expressive of astonishment and thankfulness ;¹ the representations,

Dominum ostendit ; . . . tandem mori ut homo pro hominibus dignatus, in triduo a morte sicut Deus surrexit, et solem, qui in sui conditoris nece obtenebratus est, suo splendore clarius illustravit. Surrexit, inquam, ut nos resuscitaret : ascendit ad cœlos, ut illuc nos triumphantes aggreget.'—Gotselinus, *Hist. Major.* c. xvii. (Mabill. *Actt. SS. Benedict.* i. 497.)

¹ Owing to the impulsive sensitive temperament of the Cymry there has always been considerable impetuosity—a want of self-control—in the outward demonstration of their inward convictions. Giraldus describes the effect of his sermons, though they were Latin or French, when preaching through Wales the Crusade : 'Ubi' (apud Haverfordiam) 'et pro mirando, et quasi pro miraculo ducebatur a multis quod ad verbum Domini ab archidiacono prolutum, cum tamen lingua Latina et Gallica loqueretur, non minus illi qui neutram linguam novērunt, quam alii, tam ad lacrimarum affluentiam moti fuerunt, quam etiam ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt.'—*Itin.* lib. i. c. xi. ; *Opp.* vol. vi. p. 83. The incident was not one confined to Haverfordwest : 'Pluries in illo itinere dicebat nusquam se tot lacrimas, quantas apud Haverfordiam viderat, uno die vidisse.'—*De Gestis*, lib. ii. c. xviii. ; *Opp.* i. p. 75. The following account is given of the great religious awakening in South Wales in the beginning of the last century : 'It commenced in Llangeitho Church while (Daniel) Rowlands was reading the Litany, and while he was reading these words, "By thine agony and bloody sweat, good Lord, deliver us." The touching and melting manner in which Rowlands repeated these words affected the whole assembly so much that they almost all wept, and wept loudly. The extreme agony, as the Welsh expression is, of the Saviour while

or rather the conjectures of their own teachers respecting the bonds which had fastened down the spirit of the universe to our narrow round of earth, sank into utter insignificance, in comparison with this golden chain of love and self-sacrifice. To guide the current of their feelings into a passionate personal love to Christ, welling over in the heart and extending to all God's creatures, would be the next step in their conversion.

suffering for their sins, was what touched their feelings, melted their hearts, and filled their eyes with tears. They looked on Him whom they had pierced, and wept.'—(*Memoir of Rev. Daniel Rowlands*, by Rev. John Owen, pp. 113, 114.) Whitfield, in his Journal for 1743, says that he was an eye-witness of similar scenes: 'The power of God at the sacrament, under the ministry of Mr. Rowlands, was enough to make a person's heart to burn within him. At seven in the morning have I seen perhaps ten thousand persons from different parts, in the midst of the sermon, crying, *Gogoniant!* (Glory!) *Bendigedig!* (Blessed!).'

CHAPTER I.

'So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground . . . and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.'—S. Mark iv. 26, 27.

THE ENQUIRY into the origin of the British Church naturally falls under two heads; the men by whom the Gospel was first preached in Britain, and the date at which this took place. These Origin of Christianity in Britain. two points may be discussed independently of each other, for although the affirmation of the first would supply an answer to the second, it may happen that we shall not be able to find any historical proof of the names of the men to whom Britain owes the first sowing of the good seed, and yet that we can fix with tolerable certainty the period when it was first enrolled in the family and household of God.

The introduction of Christianity into Britain has been ascribed to at least ten different agencies.¹ Their

¹ (1) Bran, the father of Caradog; (2) S. Paul; (3) S. Peter; (4) S. Simon Zelotes; (5) S. Philip; (6) S. James the Great; (7) S. John; (8) Aristobulus, the Arwystli Hên of the Triads; (9) Joseph of Arimathea; (10) Missionaries sent by Eleutherius from Rome at the request of Lucius, a British king.—*Concilia*, Haddon and Stubbs, 22–26.

unhistoric character will appear from the fact that of none of them is there any written record earlier than the sixth century. They are evidently the growth of the natural desire, which began to show itself at an early date, of countries to trace up their Christianity to the Apostolic age, and, if possible, to direct Apostolic labours. In time this feeling gave rise to a spirit of jealous rivalry, and the conflicting claims of national Churches for priority of origin attained so great an importance that they were oftentimes referred for decision to the judgment of Church Councils. The date of the foundation of the British Church was deemed not unworthy of the time and attention of the Council of Pisa in A.D. 1409. A few years later, in A.D. 1417, the subject was again discussed at the Council of Constance, with a view to settle the question of precedence between the French and English ambassadors; the French gravely put forward Dionysius, the Areopagite, as the founder of their Church, while the English rested their arguments upon the equally untrustworthy traditionary mission of Joseph of Arimathea. At the Council of Bale in A.D. 1434, there was a renewal of the dispute, when it seems that a decision was given in favour of the British Church.¹

¹ Ussher, vol. v. pp. 38, 39-59, 215.

These agencies, to which reference has been made, will be found to resolve themselves into gratuitous assumptions, guesses more or less plausible, or legendary fables. Some of them have never succeeded in finding a permanent place among the religious traditions of this country; of such, therefore, the briefest notice will suffice. Others again, while equally unauthenticated, have had so large a measure of credibility accorded to them, and so enduring has been the effect of this credibility, especially in the instance of the Glastonbury story, that their importance in the direction they gave to the ecclesiastical and even the national life can hardly be over-estimated. If they yield no definite historical knowledge of the origin of British Christianity, it is from them we learn the prevailing usages and belief of centuries which have stamped upon the Church in Britain some of its enduring characteristic features.

Legendary accounts; some unimportant, others an element in the formation of the national faith.

Among the names which would be associated with the first preaching of the Gospel in Britain, we should naturally expect to find that of S. Peter. S. Peter. The earliest authority, however, for thus connecting this work with the Apostle is the anonymous Commentary on S. Peter and S. Paul, ascribed to Simon Metaphrastes, about A.D. 900.¹ The Apostle is repre-

¹ Ἐπειτα (ὁ Πέτρος) . . . εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγίνεται. Ἐνθα δὴ

sented as making a stay of considerable length in the island, organising the Church therein, and setting over it bishops, priests, and deacons. A Decretal Letter of Pope Innocent I. to Bishop Decentius (A.D. 416) has also been quoted in support of this fictitious foundation by S. Peter of the British Church; but his words merely affirm at the most that there were no Churches founded either in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, or the islands lying between, unless by missionary bishops whom S. Peter or his successors had appointed.¹

Several writers bring even S. James the Great to the West, and represent him as working there many S. James. miracles. The forged Chronicle of Flavius Dexter is more precise, and names the Britons as the people to whom the Apostle preached.²

χειροτριβήσας καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκατανομάτων ἔθνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν ἐπισπασάμενος, ἀγγελικὴν πτασίαν κατεῖδε· Πέτρε, λέγουσαν, ὃ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεως σου ἐφέστηκε, καὶ δεῖ σε εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπελθεῖν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν διὰ σταυροῦ θάνατον ὑπομείνας τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀποκαλήψῃ τὸν στέφανον. Δοξάσας οὖν καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Θεόν, ἐπιμείνας τε τοῖς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ ἡμέρας τινὰς, καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ λόγῳ φωτίσας τῆς χάριτος, Ἐκκλησίας τε συστήσάμενος, Ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ Πρεσβυτέρους καὶ Διακόνους χειροτονήσας, δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐθις εἰς Ῥώμην παραγίνεται.—*Actl. SS.* 29 Jun. v. 416.

¹ 'Quis enim nesciat aut non advertat, id quod a principe Apostolorum Petro Romanæ Ecclesiæ traditum est, ac nunc usque custoditur, ab omnibus debere servari . . . ? præsertim cum sit manifestum, in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes, nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes.'—*Migne, Patrologia*, tom. xx. col. 552.

² 'A C. 41. Rediens Jacobus Gallias invisit ac Britannias ac

S. Simon Zelotes is another of the twelve Apostles to whom the Western Ocean and the Britannic Islands are said to be indebted for their knowledge of the Gospel. The spurious Synopsis of Dorotheus adds that he suffered death by crucifixion, and was buried in this country.¹

S. Simon
Zelotes.

The application of the most obvious principles of historic credibility necessitates the acknowledgment that the Glastonbury Legends cannot claim a higher antiquity than the eleventh century,² and that the mission of Joseph of Arimathea cannot be regarded as belonging to the province of real history. In the prominence these legends give to Arthur, while with the native bards he is only one, and scarcely the most distinguished, of the band which withstood the English invaders, they bear unmistakeable marks of foreign growth.³ During the sixty years of the first outburst

Glastonbury
Legends;
their origin
and date.

Venetiarum oppida, ubi prædicat.'—Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxxi. col. 135.

¹ Σιμὼν δὲ ὁ Ζηλώτης πᾶσαν τὴν Μαβριτανίαν, καὶ τὴν Ἀφρων χώραν διελθὼν καὶ κηρύξας τὸν Χριστὸν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τελεiewθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ.—Apud Cave, *Hist. Literar.* i. 169, Oxonii, 1740. Bæda says that he suffered in Persia. The doubts of Cave (*Hist. Literar.* i. 613) respecting the genuineness of Bæda's martyrology are only admissible so far as that in its present form the additions by Florus, subdeacon of Lyons, in the ninth century, are incorporated with it.

² 'Quos etsi Normannorum adventu antiquiores non existimem.'—Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 11; *Whole Works*, v. 25.

³ Stephens, *Liter. of Cymry*, iii. 4.

of the English invasion, the exterminating character of which is illustrated in the fate of Anderida, when 'Ælle and Cissa slew all that therein dwelled, nor was there so much as one Briton left,'¹ 'some others passed beyond the seas, with loud lamentations,'² to the western angle of Armorica. Dwelling with fondness on the land they had left, and of which the old familiar names they gave to their new country were ever reminding them, they handed down to their children their reminiscences of the struggle they had witnessed and of the religious associations of Glastonbury. If the Foundation owed its beginning to a monk of Pachomius of the name of Joseph, we can readily understand how the legend, laying hold of this incident, would substitute the name of the noble and rich disciple who laid the body of the Lord in the grave he had prepared for himself. Nor, as time went on, were there wanting conditions most favourable to the genesis and growth of legendary additions. Distance from the scene of action and an interval of several generations produce the congenial atmosphere of mythical narrative. The Normans, deficient in creative power, but possessing great receptive ability, and therefore quick to improve what they found already existing, expanded and beautified the stories

¹ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* anno 491 (M. H. B. 300).

² Gildas, *Hist.* xxv. (M. H. B. 14).

of their Breton neighbours into the romances which for a time formed the subjects of song or recital throughout the whole of Christendom.¹ While King Arthur is held up as the ideal of true chivalry,² combining success in war with the service of God, S. Joseph of Arimathea is the source and centre of the religious halo which surrounds Glastonbury. In the scattering abroad of the disciples in the persecution which arose upon the death of S. Stephen, Joseph, with Lazarus and Martha and Mary, so ran one version of the countless current tales, set sail from Judæa, trusting themselves to the mercy of the sea. Providentially carried to Southern Gaul, they are received by the Apostle S. Philip, who was already there, Christianising the country. From thence the Apostle sends S. Joseph with twelve³ companions to convey the Word of Life to Britain. Landing in the sixty-third year from the Incarnation, they fail at first to gain the favour of the King. On learning,

Story of
Joseph of
Arimathea
and the Holy
Gaal.

¹ Sismondi's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. 198-203 (Bohn).

² 'The Lives of the Saints' do not always paint King Arthur in colours so favourable.—Vide *Cambro-Brit. SS.* pp. 24, 48-50, 193.

³ 'Consuetudo illa conjungendi duodecim socios sub uno duce et præfecto ad Christianæ religionis pietatem disseminandam fovendamque a Christo Domino instituta, et in Apostolis inchoata, fuit sanetis nostris olim perfamiliaris.'—Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 436, n. 2 *in loco*. He mentions twelve instances of the observance of this duodecimal economy, adding 'quibus possimus conjungere et plures consimiles.' Sometimes it was the multiple of twelve (*V. S. Cadoc.* 24; *Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 61).

however, the distance of their journey, and witnessing the humility of their demeanour, he is persuaded to give them for a dwelling-place a small uncultivated island, called by the natives Ynyswitrin.¹ Afterwards, two other kings allotted to them similar grants of land. In all his travels Joseph carried with him as his only treasure the Saint Graal, or Sang Réal²—the blood of the Crucified carefully collected and preserved in the sacred vessel which Jesus Christ had used at the Last Supper. In obedience to the exhortation of the angel Gabriel, S. Joseph built a chapel, according to a divine plan, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Its walls were entwined branches of willow ;³

¹ ' Hec itaque insula primo a Britonibus dicta est Ynswytryn, id est, *Insula Vitrea*, propter ampnem scilicet quasi vitrei coloris in marisco circumfluentem. Insula vero dicta est, quoniam marisco profundo est undique clausa . . . *Avalloia* dicta est, vel ab *Aval* Britannico, quod *pomum* sonat, quia solet locus ille pomis et pomeriis habundare ; vel ab *Avallone*, quodam territorii illius quondam dominatore . . . Demum a Saxonibus terram sibi subjugantibus interpretato priore vocabu'o, id est, Ynswytryn, sua lingua dicta est Glastynbury, id est, *Glastonia*. Glas enim Anglicè vel Saxonice *vitrum* sonat ; bury, civitas.' Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, tom. i. 22. (London, 1846.)

² The derivation is doubtful, whether from the Norman Greal, a cup or vase of earth, or Spanish *sangre*, blood. According to the choice made, the saint graal will be either the sacramental cup of our Lord, or the vessel in which the angels are said to have collected the drops of blood during the Crucifixion.—Bunsen, in *Memoirs*, i. 479, note *in loco*. The two ideas are sometimes combined as above in the *Little Saint Graal*, by Robert de Borron.

³ The same legend has been told since then of two other great monastic churches, S. Denis in France and Notre Dame des Ermites in Switzerland.—Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. 26. But during the Roman occupation the building of churches of any material

and our Lord was said to have conferred upon it the honour of consecrating it Himself.

In romantic interest, Glastonbury stands foremost in Britain. It is the one great ecclesiastical Foundation of British origin which has succeeded in pre-
Peculiar historical interest attached to Glastonbury.
 serving its continuity through the destructive crisis of the English Conquest. For this exceptional preservation it stands indebted to its geographical position. Situated just beyond the Axe, the exterminating Pagan Ceawlin failed to reach it. At the battle of Deorhamme, Cuthwin and Ceawlin slew three British kings and captured three of their most distinguished cities—Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath.¹ Advancing northward, to the Wrekin, they burnt Uriconium, the white town in the valley, and the hall of its chieftain was made dark, without fire, without songs, ‘to be tenanted by the eagle who has swallowed fresh drink, the heart’s blood of Cynddelw the beautiful.’ At this point the invaders were driven back, and Glastonbury was happily preserved for the Christian Cenwalh, who saw in it the birthplace of the common faith of the victor and the vanquished. Glastonbury was thus spared to be to the English what it had already been to the Britons—a nursery of saints and a burial-place

save ‘de robore secto’ was ‘insolitus Britonibus mos.’—Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 4, 25.

¹ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* anno 577 (M. H. B. 304).

of kings. To this Chapel of S. Joseph S. David added a second, and twelve holy men from the North a third church.¹ About a century later, Ine, King of Wessex, but according to the Welsh narratives and the 'Eulogium Historiarum' of British blood,² moved, we may suppose, by a feeling of affection for the ancient national sanctuary, and anxious to conciliate the Welsh, rebuilt and enlarged the whole structure, expending upon it the thirty thousand pounds which the Jutes of Kent had been forced to pay him as *were* or compensation money for the life of a West Saxon relative whom they had burned alive.³ This church

¹ According to William of Malmesbury, S. David, as primate, came with seven bishops to consecrate his church; but he was warned by our Lord in a dream that such an act, although the intention was praiseworthy, would be one of extreme presumption, for that the church had been dedicated by Himself in honour of His mother. Upon this S. David, desirous of doing something to show his love, erected and consecrated another building close to the original church.—*Antiq. Glaston.* (Gale, *Script.* xv. vol. iii. 299).

² *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 188, 189. (Roberts' ed. 1811.) 'Mater ejus de stirpe Saxonica generata est, pater ejus Kenten de stirpe Britonum est oriundus.' *Eulog. Hist.* c. lxxix. (Haydon's ed. vol. iii. p. 1.) There is evidently a confusion of names here; at the same time Ine seems to be a case to which the observation of Lappenburg may be applied: 'a similarity of names sometimes occurs between the West Saxons and the Britons, to be accounted for only by the supposition of early alliances between both nations.' (*England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. p. 256.)

³ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 694 (M. H. B. 323). The amount of the fine is variously given. The MSS. extant of the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* differ—thirty men (pounds, thousands). The payment, whatever its amount may have been, was probably the legal compensation for the death of Mul. Ethelweard says (Ine) 'cui et committunt solidos millia triginta, per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis.'—

of Ine was afterwards restored and beautified by Dunstan, Thurstan, and Herlewin,¹ and for the last time after the fire in A.D. 1184 by Ralph Fitzstephen, commissioned by Henry II. The greatness of Glastonbury was only brought to a close at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. The last of its abbots, Richard Whiting, proved himself worthy of the long line of saints and bishops who had preceded him. Refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of Henry VIII., or to surrender the treasures of the abbey to the spoiler, he was hanged with two of his monks by the orders of John Lord Russell on the hill called the Torr. Afterwards, the body of the martyred abbot was drawn and quartered, and his head set on the great portals of the confiscated and desecrated sanctuary.²

It is to the family of Caradog that the Triads assign the principal share in the evangelising of Britain.³ Around the historical incident that Caradog was brought to Rome, a great Bran ab Llyr
and Caradog. accretion of New Testament names gathered itself. The Pudens and Claudia of Martial become the friends of S. Paul, and also the son-in law and

(M. H. B. 506.) Florence of Worcester has 'III. DCC. L, libras dedere.'—(*Ibid.* 539.) According to William of Malmesbury the value of Ine's gifts amounted to 2,900 pounds of silver and 350 pounds of gold.—*De Antiq. Glast.* (Gale, iii. 310, 311.)

¹ *Id. ibid.* 317–333.

² Ellis, *Original Letters* (First Series), vol. ii. 99.

³ *Myfyr. Archæology*, ii. 61, 63.

daughter of the British chief. Through their influence, for they were already Christians, and that of S. Paul during the two years of his first imprisonment at Rome, the rest of the family embrace the Gospel, and their house on the slope of Mons Sacer, known afterwards as the site of the church of S. Pudentiana, afforded shelter and hospitality to the Christians. After the lapse of seven years Caradog returned home with his father Bran and his son S. Cyllinus, leaving his other son Linus (Lleyn) at Rome, to be afterwards appointed the first bishop of the Gentile portion of the Church in that city. They are accompanied to Britain by Ilid, Cyndav, and his son Mawan, with Aristobulus in the character of bishop. This story, even when stripped of its contradictory and impossible accessories, does not rise beyond what is possible, hardly to what is probable.¹ The earliest native testimony in its favour is one of the historic Triads, which, as it must have inspired the sentiment

¹ If the identity of Arwystli Hên with Aristobulus be accepted, the valueless evidence of the Greek Menologies may be added to that of the Triads in favour of the above statements: 'Αριστόβουλος ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν . . . Ἐπεὶ δὲ (ὁ Παῦλος) εἰς πᾶσαν χώραν χειροτονῶν ἀπέστειλεν ἐπισκόπους . . . χειροτονήσας καὶ αὐτὸν (Ἀριστόβουλον) ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Βρετανῶν, ἀπίστων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ ἀγρίων, καὶ ὤμων ἀνθρώπων. Ἄλλ' ὕμῳ ἀπελθὼν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύττων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τυπτόμενος, πότε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ῥύμας συρόμενος, ἄλλοτε δὲ χλευαζόμενος, πολλοὺς ἔπεισε προσελθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ βαπτισθῆναι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν συστησάμενος, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους ἐν αὐτῇ καταστήσας, ἐτελειώθη.—*Μενολογία Γρακῶρων, διὰ ΧVI Μαρτίῃ.* (M. H. B., pp. cii, ciii.)

in an Englyn¹ by Cynddelw (A.D. 1154), wherein he alludes to the three blessed families of Bran Fendigaid, Cunedda Wledig, and Brychan Brycheiniog, may be regarded as old as the twelfth century. There is, however, a fatal objection in the silence of Tacitus and Dion Cassius respecting the return of Caradog, and in the inconsistency of such an event with the subsequent history of Britain.

S. Paul's foundation of the British Church, to which the authority of Archbishop Ussher and Stillingfleet has given fictitious prominence, is now S. Paul, generally acknowledged to be entirely destitute of historical warranty. The course of the Apostle's travels in the interval of five years between the close of his first imprisonment and his martyrdom may be satisfactorily conjectured from the hints we find in his later Epistles. No niche can be found in the history of these years where a visit to Britain and a consequent stay here for some time would conveniently drop in. Released in A.D. 73, either because his accusers from Judæa had failed to put in an appearance, or because the charge against him had broken down, the Apostle, with a keen prevision of the westward direction of the

¹ 'Godwryf a glywaf am glawr fagu glyw
Glew Fadawc bieufu
Trinfa cryf a cynyddu
Trydydd Tir Diweir Deulu.'

Stephens, *Liter. of Cymry*, iii. 4.

conquests of the Gospel, proceeded no doubt to Spain. Returning again to the East, and on his way leaving Titus at Crete, he visited Judæa. But the churches of Europe claimed his care; and we find him, after passing hurriedly through Asia, by Miletus and Troas, and dropping Timothy at Ephesus to preside over the church of that place, at Philippi and Corinth. Here all Biblical notices of the Apostle cease, but soon after he is for the second and last time a prisoner at Rome. Most probably, hearing of the distress of the brethren, he hastened thither to console them with his presence, and to strengthen the necessarily weakened organisation of the Church. This must have been in A.D. 67; for, in harmony with the words of Clemens Romanus that S. Paul witnessed the confession of a martyr before ‘the authorities,’ the government of Rome was at that time entrusted, in the absence of the emperor, to the Prefect of the City, Helius Cæsarianus, and the Pretorian Prefects, Nymphidius Sabinus and Tigellinus.

The antecedent improbability of S. Paul visiting Britain is so great that to outweigh it evidence of undoubted credibility should be forthcoming. Explicit authoritative proof, however, there is not. Some of the Welsh Triads are headed ‘Trioedd Paul,’ or Paul’s Triads,¹

The foundation of the British Church by the Apostle neither verifiable nor probable.

¹ Ab Ithel’s *Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry*, p. 61.

but this would indicate nothing beyond a feeling of respect for the name of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (A.D. 629–636), has been supposed to speak of S. Paul preaching to Spaniards and Britons, but his testimony would be posterior in date by more than five centuries. Besides, in the fragments of his writings now extant no such reference to S. Paul can be found.¹ Another authority oftentimes quoted is Venantius Fortunatus (A.D. 580), but it is the teaching ('stylus ille') of the Apostle that he speaks of as having reached the British land and the very distant Thule.² Elsewhere Illyrium is with him the farthest point of the Apostle's travels.³ Clement of Rome, however, writes (A.D. 97) that S.

¹ In quoting the authority of Sophronius, Ussher cautiously observed, not unnecessarily, that he did so on the faith of others: 'Sophronius Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus (in sermone de natali Apostolorum) Paulum Hispanis et Britannis Evangelium prædicasse significat, quod tamen ex aliorum fide refero, mihi enim ipsi authorem videre nondum contigit.'—*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 11; *Whole Works*, vol. v. p. 20.

² 'Quid sacer ille simul Paulus, tuba gentibus ampla?
Per mare, per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam, atque Asiam, Libyam sale, dogmate complens;
Et qua sol radiis tendit, stylus ille cucurrit,
Arctos, meridies, hinc plenus vesper et ortus:
Transit et oceanum, vel qua fecit insula portum;
Quasque Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thyle.'

V. S. Martini, iii. 488–494. (Migne, *Patrologia*, lxxxviii. col. 405, 406.)

³ 'Paulus ad Illyricos, Scythicas penetrando pruinas
Dogmate ferventi frigora solvit humi.'

Epistola ad Martinum Episcopum Gallicie, cap. ii. 7, 8. (*Ibid.* lxxxviii. col. 182.)

Paul, having taught righteousness to the whole world, went to 'the extreme limit of the West.'¹ If these words can be shown to refer to Britain, the authority of a personal friend of the Apostle, and almost a contemporary writer, would be conclusive. But the weight of evidence is against such an interpretation. If it be borne in mind that S. Paul had already expressed his intention of visiting Spain,² and that only two generations later the anonymous author of the Muratorian Canon (A.D. 165–175) affirms that he actually went thither,³ there can be little doubt of the natural meaning of Clement's words. This inference is confirmed by several passages in other writings, in which Spain is described in words almost identical

¹ Διὰ ζῆλον [ὁ] Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑ[πέσχ]εν, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, [φυγα]δευθεῖς, λιθασθεῖς, κῆρυξ γ[ενό]μενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν [τῇ] δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν· δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, κά[ι ἐπὶ] τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἔλθων, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου.—*Epist.* i. 5. The bracketed letters and words, it should be remembered, are only the conjectures of Patricius Junius to supply in his edition of 1633 the erasures which time had caused in the *Codex Alexandrinus*—the only MS. extant of this Epistle.

² Romans xv. 24, 28.

³ 'Sicuti et (Lucas) semota passione Petri evidenter declarat seu (or et) profectioe Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.'—Quoted by Dr. Döllinger in *The First Age of the Church*, 79, n. 4. No inference can be drawn against Spain from the circumstance that there is no local tradition of any church being founded in that country by S. Paul. 'The tradition of the Spanish Church reaches no further back than the third century; no Spanish Christians wrote anything before the end of the fourth.'—*Id. in loco.*

with those used by Clement.¹ Two other interpretations have been suggested, less probable, but equally fatal to the theory that Britain was intended by Clement. One of these interpretations, substituting *ὑπό* for *ἐπί*, and giving to *τέρμα* the sense of 'supreme power,' would translate the words into 'before the highest tribunal of the West';² the other, assuming that the Apostle's first imprisonment ended in his death, would explain the words as descriptive of Rome itself. In favour of this last interpretation, it is contended that Clement, himself more an eastern than a western, and writing concerning S. Paul, whose chief labours had been in the East, to the Corinthians whose position gave them an eastward inclination, would naturally speak of Rome as the limit of the Corinthians' acquaintance with the West. Stress is also laid, as favouring this view, upon the participle *ἐλθών*, in the sense of 'having come,' for it is argued that a word signifying 'having gone' would have been used by the writer, a resident at the time at Rome, had the reference been to Spain.³ The participle in

¹ 'In ultimo Hispaniæ tractu, in extremo nostri orbis termino.'—*Vellei Paterculi Hist. Rom.* lib. i. 2. Philostratus, speaking of Apollonius of Tyana, says that, on Nero banishing philosophers from Rome, *τρέπεται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς γῆς*, which he afterwards describes more minutely as *τὰ Γαδεΐρα κείμενα κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα*.—*V. Apollon. Tyan.* iv. 27; v. 4.

² Schaff. *Hist. of the Apostolic Church* (Engl. ed. 1854), vol. i. pp. 399, 400.

³ Davidson, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

question, however, admits of either signification according to the context. Besides, it is very unlikely that Clement, living at Rome, the centre of commercial and intellectual activity, should designate it 'the extreme limit of the West.'

The conversion of Lucius appears for the first time under very suspicious circumstances as an interpolation in a sixth century copy of an early
King Lucius
or Lleirwg. catalogue of the Roman Pontiffs. The original catalogue merely gives the name and duration of the pontificate of Eleutherius; but in the copy words are inserted that he received a letter from Lucius, king of Britain, praying that by his mandate he might be made a Christian.¹ Gildas is significantly silent, but Bæda transfers the Roman account to his own History, giving a wider significance to the incident by attributing to it the conversion of the King's subjects.² In Nennius's History of the Britons the story appears in its original simple shape, with however the strange addition, that the mission was the joint work of Pope Evaristus and the Roman

¹ 'Eleutherius, annis . . . Fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi, a consulatu Veri et Erenniani, usque Paterno et Bradua.' (Written shortly after A.D. 353.)

'Eleuther, natione Græcus, ex patre Abundantio, de oppido Nicopoli, sedit annos quindecim, menses tres, dies duos. Fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi usque Paterno et Bradua. Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniae rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.' *Actt. SS.* April 1, i. 23. (Written c. A.D. 530.)

² *Hist. Eccl.* i. 4. Epitome in anno 167.

Emperors.¹ When, however, we come to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the 'Liber Landavensis,'²

¹ c. xviii. The *Historia Britonum* has been indifferently ascribed to Gildas, Mark the Anchorite, and to Nennius. The authority for Nennius is an express statement found in a single MS. in the Vatican, of the tenth century, and verses written in the Cambridge MS. of the twelfth century (ff. 1. 27. 2.). The crediting Nennius with the authorship involves many difficulties, to solve which it has been suggested (Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* 321) that the *Historia Britonum* is the work of an anonymous compiler, and that a writer—perhaps named Nennius—interpolated and glossed the history for Samuel, the son of a certain priest named Beulan, prefixing to it the first prologue, and that a second copyist, observing the discrepancies between the prologue and the body of the work, wrote the shorter Prologue or Apologia to be substituted for the first. The first prologue thus summarises the sources of his materials: 'the writings and monuments of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, the annals of the Romans, the chronicles of Isidore, Hieronymus, Prosper, and Eusebius, and the histories of the Scots and Saxons.'

² Pp. 26, 65. The compiling of the *Liber Landavensis* in its original form is ascribed with great probability to Galfrid, brother of Bishop Urban, because it contains a life of S. Teilo identical, with a few omissions, with that of the Cott. MS. Vespas. A. xiv., which latter we are expressly told was compiled 'a magistro Galfrido fratre Urbani Landavensis Ecclesiæ Episcopi.' A minute account of the MS. now in the possession of P. Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, and of its contents, from the pen of the late Mr. Haddon, appeared in the *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd series, no. lv. pp. 311–328. Mr. Haddon thus sums up his estimate of the historic value of the compilation: 'The MS., as originally written in Urban's episcopate, bears no other marks of untrustworthiness than that the scribe was evidently destitute of either the will or the power to sift his materials, and of the knowledge requisite to enable him to arrange them correctly, and in accordance with historical accuracy. He obviously had before him documents of various dates, which he did not invent, but copied; although these documents themselves were not contemporary (save the later ones) with the transactions recorded in them, and were memoranda drawn by interested parties, with no one to check their inventiveness. And whenever he ventures upon a date or upon an historical fact that can be tested, he (or the document he copies) is almost invariably wrong.'

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*,¹ 'Epitome of the History of Britain,'² and the Welsh Triads, it has received a vast accession of dates, persons, and events. No less than five-and-twenty different opinions have been put forward respecting the date of this supposed intercourse between Britain and Rome.³ These later versions of the story, thrown into one connected narrative, would assume the following form:—Lleurwg ab Coel ab Cyllin, called in later Welsh Chronicles Lles ab Coel, was the fourth in succession from Caradog, or, according to Spelman, from Arviragus. He was surnamed Lleufer Mawr, the great luminary, hence his Latin name of Lucius. At the time that he ruled over Britain, Eleutherius, a Greek, the son of Habundius, from the town of Nicopolis, was bishop of Rome. Following the example of his father Coel, who, having been brought up at Rome, had contracted Roman manners and ideas, Lucius sends letters by two legates, Elfan and Medwy, to Pope Eleutherius, desiring to be instructed

¹ iv. 18, 19, 20. How valueless Geoffrey, 'Fabulator ille,' as he is contemptuously called by William of Newburgh, is as an independent authority, will be evident from the circumstance that 'it does not appear that he was acquainted with a single historical fact relative to transactions subsequent to Julius Cæsar, which he did not derive from Gildas, Beda, or Nennius. It is probable, too, that Eutropius and Orosius were consulted; and possibly Suetonius may have been known to him.'—(Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* 350.)

² *Cambr.-Brit. SS.* 278, 279.

³ Ussher, *Works*, v. p. 56.

in the Christian Faith. Two most holy men, Ffagan and Dyfan,¹ are deputed to the work ; the king and his people are baptized, the heathen temples dedicated to the One God and His Saints, and the three archflamens and twenty-eight flamens changed into so many archbishops and bishops, the seats of the archbishops being fixed at London, York, and Caerleon-on-Usk. William of Malmesbury associates the work of the mission more directly with Glastonbury ;² and the Triads with Llandaff, representing ' Llandaff, of the foundation of Lleurwg ab Coel, to be the earliest of the three archbishoprics of the Isle of the Britons,'³ and speaking of it as the place 'where Lleurwg erected the first church, bestowing the freedom of country and nation, with the privilege of judgment and surety, upon those who might be of the faith in Christ.'⁴

¹ There are four churches in the immediate neighbourhood of Llandaff, called after Lleurwg, Dyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy.—(*Recs. Welsh SS.* 84.) The circumstance, no doubt, proves the existence of these persons, but it determines nothing as to the exact date when they lived. Besides, the fact that no trace of their names can be found elsewhere in Wales reduces the area of their influence within a small compass.

² 'Venerunt ergo Eleutherio mittente prædicatores Britanniam duo viri sanctissimi, Phaganus videlicet atque Deruvianus . . . Ii igitur verbum vitæ evangelizantes, regem cum suo populo sacro fonte abluerunt anno Domini clxvi°, hinc prædicando et baptizando Britanniae partes peragrantes in insulam Avalloniæ, more Moysi legislatoris interiora deserti penetrantes, sunt ingressi.'—*Antiq. Glaston.* (Gale. *Script. XV.* iii. 293.)

³ *Myfyr. Archæology*, vol. ii. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. 63.

But although we must relegate to the region of legend such details of persons and events as are chronicled in these traditional accounts of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, it would, on the other hand, be a grave error to consider such traditions as altogether worthless, because they are not as certain a source of knowledge as we could wish them to be. It would not indeed be a safe nor a possible process to attempt to 'distil history out of them' by simply straining the legendary through the sieve of documentary evidence; still, content with scanty and even flickering light, when none other is within reach, we can detect, I believe, the general causes which led to their formation. One leading idea seems to underlie them all alike, that the Gospel was preached in Britain at an early date, but that this was effected by different and independent agencies, at different times, from different places, and at different points in the Island. This conclusion will appear still more probable, when we consider the many mysterious influences at work for the spreading of the Gospel during the first two centuries. No feature is more eminently characteristic of the sub-Apostolic age than the surprising ductility with which Christianity crept through the various pores of the world that

The notion of the early promulgation of the Gospel in Britain underlying all these legendary notices.

The general condition of the Roman Empire most favourable to the early spread of Christianity.

were open to it.¹ Soldiers coming to Britain from other parts of the Roman Empire, for what Tertullian says of his time is equally applicable to a much earlier period—that Christians filled every place—cities, fortresses, towns, market-places, and the very camp;² the great commercial activity which in the first century sprang up between Britain and the outer world, so that in A.D. 61, within less than twenty years of its first foundation, we find Londinium already a flourishing town, frequented by merchants and trading vessels, built on a site which at the opening of the first century was but an uninhabited marshland, which twice every day assumed the appearance of an estuary;³ any or all of these influences, apart from any organised mission, might, and necessarily would, convey in a short time to Britain the Gospel from the lodgment it had effected along the shores of the Mediterranean.⁴ The first stage or phase would probably be analogous to that

¹ Blunt, *History of the Christian Church*, x. 197.

² *Apol.* 37.

³ Dr. Guest on the campaign of Aulus Plautius.—*Arch. Journal*, vol. xxiii. 178–180.

⁴ This probability is further confirmed by what is known of the early transmission, by agencies unknown to us, of heretical notions. That the heresy of Basilides, for instance, had found its way to Britain, possibly as early as the second century, appears from a gold Basilidian talisman found at Carnarvon, near the site of the old Roman Segontium; it is a thin plate of gold, with an inscription in astral or magical characters, and with the following words in Greek letters, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, ΕΛΩΝΑΙ, ΕΛΛΙΩΝ, ΙΑΩ.

which is described in the Acts of the Apostles, when a few families gathered together to hear the Good News. Gradually, but rapidly, for owing to the previous providential preparation the fields were already white to the harvest, the circle would widen, religious communities would be formed, and this initial and confessedly transitional period would be succeeded by another one when the Church permanently entered upon her normal course of grace and administration. This explanation of the origin and growth of the British Church will be confirmed on being compared with the early history of the Church in Southern Gaul. Tradition and subsequent events satisfactorily prove that Christianity was preached in the south of modern France in Apostolic times, and yet probably the Church there was not fully organised until the mission of Pothinus and Irenæus, about the middle of the second century; nor for the Christianising of the country can an earlier date be fixed than the reign of Decius, A.D. 250.¹ In

¹ 'Sensim et gradatim in omnem terram Evangeliorum sonus exivit, parique progressu in regionibus nostris (in Gallicis scilicet) Apostolorum prædicatio coruscavit; cum raræ in aliquibus civitatibus ecclesiæ paucorum Christianorum devotione consurgerent; sed nihilominus crebra miserabili errore gentilium nidoribus foetidis in omnibus locis templa fumarent; ante annos l., sicut actis publicis, id est Decio et Grato consulibus, primum et summum Christi Tolosa civitas sanctum Saturninum habere cœperat sacerdotem.'—Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 130. This is confirmed by Gregorius Turonensis: 'Hujus tempore septem viri episcopi ordinati ad prædicandum in Gallias missi sunt, sicut historia passionis

this sense, as referring to the Church, in the form of a well-ordered kingdom, with the necessary complements of an Episcopate and Liturgy, must the words of Sulpicius Severus (A.D. 400) be understood, which have been erroneously supposed to militate against the idea of Christianity being known in Gaul, much less in Britain, before the third century.¹

Many considerations minister to the conclusion that it is to the Greek colony of Lyons that Britain owes the first foundation of its Church. It is a noticeable feature of early Christianity that down to the time of Tertullian it was essentially Greek in ecclesiastical organisation, language, and forms of thought. (1) The Churches, each under its own bishop, were controlled and welded together by no external authority beyond the obligation involved in the confession of the One

Christianity at first Greek in polity, (2) in language, and (3) in the outward form and colour of its ideas.

sancti martyris Saturnini denarrat.'—*Hist. Francorum*, lib. i. 28. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. lxxi. col. 175.) The earliest Christian inscriptions hitherto discovered in France belong, one for each year, to A.D. 334, 347, 377, 378, 405, and 409.—M. le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. 609 (Paris, 1865).

¹ 'Sub Aurelio deinde Antonini filio persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa, serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta.'—*Hist. Sacr.* ii. 32 (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xx. col. 147). So fatal is this testimony to the theory of the existence of a British Church in the Apostolic age that Stillingfleet (vol. iii. ch. ii. p. 35, ed. 1710), to lessen its obvious force, draws a distinction, plainly inadmissible, between the first and last clause, making the first to be a statement of fact, but the other only an expression of opinion on the part of the writer.

Lord, the One Faith, and the One Baptism. It was a period more of principles than of rules, of growth than of consolidation. (2) But it was chiefly in accepting the language and philosophical terms of Greece, as a fitting medium through which to convey to the human mind its own divine truths, that Christianity assumed its early Greek aspect; not that even the Greek language, although unrivalled for its richness and flexibility, sufficed for the new world of thought to which the coming of the Son of God in the flesh gave birth. The spiritual depth and speciality of Christian ideas necessitated the formation of a new terminology by the coining of fresh words, or by imparting new force to old terms.¹ (3) But Christianity shrank not from using whatever was true in the intellectual efforts of man to rise. It was in illustration of this power of Christianity as the reintegration of all the scattered fragments of truth, that our Lord is said to have taught that 'his followers should learn to be good exchangers.'² Hence the recurrence, in the New Testament, and still more frequently in the writings of the Great Alexandrine School, of Greek philosophic ideas, as the outward framework of Divine realities, of which these ideas were but glimmerings and

¹ Χάρις, πίστις, ἀγάπη, πνεῦμα, σωτηρία, ζώη, and others that might be mentioned.

² Γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι.—Epiph. 44. 2. Quoted in Westcott's *Introduction to the Gospels*, App. C.

aspirations. The Platonic speculations, wonderful alike in their resemblance to the teaching of Christianity, and in that resembling so nearly they should still differ so much, with their errors corrected and surmises expanded, passed into the moral and spiritual system of the Church. The λογισμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ as an attribute of the Divine mind, mediating between the Supreme Being and humanity, and comprehending the unchanging pattern after which the universe was constructed ; the ultimate return of all Divine phantoms to the eternal ideas, to whose outshadowing they owe their temporary being ; the perfect Polity, setting forth the ideal of a Divine life rather than prescribing the development of a rightly constituted state ; all these thoughts became familiar to the Christian mind, but transfigured into the doctrines of a personal Incarnate Word, of Christ as the eternal source of all verities and all graces, of the Kingdom of God which, while within us, finds outward expression even now in the citizenship of the Saints of God, to be fully realised hereafter, when the shadows of this world shall have passed away, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.¹

These affinities will explain the circumstance that

¹ Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy*, 225-282 (Engl. Transl.) ; Hampden's *The Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 269.

at first Christianity found a more ready acceptance, and gained a firmer footing, in Greek settlements than in those parts of the Empire where either Latin or the primitive tongues of the West were spoken. Of the western colonies of Greece, Massalia (the modern Marseilles) was the most distant. Founded by the Phokeans of Asia Minor about B.C. 597, it attained so important a position through the extent and ramifications of its commerce, that Strabo classes it as a maritime city with Kyzikus, Rhodes, and Carthage.¹ Keeping aloof from the troubles of the Hellenic world, and, under the prudent administration of a senate of six hundred elected for life, cultivating friendly relations with the native Gauls, the Massaliots gradually extended themselves in fresh colonies along the sea-board to the east and west of their own city, while to the north, in the interior of the country, they formed the new settlements of Lyons and Vienne. So great would be the susceptibility of these Hellenes, for they had succeeded in preserving under the Romans the characteristics of their race, to the persuasives of a religion, which, while it disdained not to appeal to the affections, was essentially an intellectual movement, that we are quite prepared to learn that at both Lyons and Vienne there were flourishing

British
Christianity
of Gallic
origin, prob-
ably from
the Greek
settlements
of Lyons
and Vienne.

¹ Strabo, lib. xii. cap. 8.

churches as early as A.D. 150.¹ That these churches should again be a basis from which a further advance to Britain was made is quite in accord with the lines laid down by the Early Church, nor do the glimpses we occasionally have of the subsequent relations of the British Church to the Gallican, allow it to be doubted that the former looked upon the latter as the mother church. Under the influence of Intercourse of British and Gallic Churches. this connection it was but natural that the British Church should follow the judgment of that of Gaul (1) in condemning the Donatists at the Council of Arles, (2) in fully approving, although with a temporary hesitation about the orthodoxy of the term *ὁμοούσιος*, of the Nicene condemnation of Arianism, and (3) in adopting for the observance of Easter the 84 years cycle of Sulpicius Severus.² To the influence of their mutual affection, encouragement and solicitude on the one side and grateful deference on the other, should be attributed the great intercourse between the Gallican and British Churches in the

¹ 'Les provinces que le Rhône relie à la Méditerranée, la Première Lyonnaise, la Viennoise surtout, possèdent les monuments les plus anciens, les plus nombreux, et parmi ces marbres les premiers en date appartiennent exclusivement à des localités voisines de la mer, Marseille, Aubagne, Arles, c'est-à-dire à celles que durent parcourir d'abord les ouvriers évangéliques. L'antiquité, le nombre, font en même temps défaut dans le centre, où la foi ne se développa qu'en second lieu, et l'itinéraire des missions tardives,' &c.—M. le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes*, vol. i. xlv, xlv.

² Vid. *infra*, p. 93.

fourth and fifth centuries. S. Martin of Tours, S. Germanus, S. Lupus, S. Severus, are some of the Gallican bishops whose sympathy and active assistance never failed the Church in Britain. Churches dedicated in their names indicate the honour in which British Christians filially treasured up their memory.

The date of this extension of the Church by way of Lyons to Britain can be ascertained with tolerable exactness. The persecution at Rome and in Asia Minor, numbering among its victims such distinguished sufferers as Justin Martyr and Polycarp, had died out, when in A.D. 177 it broke out with increased severity in Southern Gaul.¹ At first it appears to

¹ Although the connection of this persecution with the British Church is not very immediate, I feel tempted to offer a few suggestions in explanation of the motives which we may reasonably suppose impelled Marcus Aurelius, on all other occasions so just and tolerant, to sanction these cruel and unjust proceedings against his Christian subjects. 1. There is little doubt that the charge of immorality so constantly urged at this time against the Christians had a powerful effect upon the mind of so severe a moralist as the emperor, forcing him into an attitude of determined hostility towards the new Faith. 2. Besides, between Christianity and the teaching of the later Stoics there was a real irreconcilable antagonism in the view they took of another world. The hopes and fears of the unseen constitute one of the elements which are of the essence of Christianity, and that human life is but an unfinished tale to be told out elsewhere is one of its animating principles. But the school of philosophy for which Marcus Aurelius felt the zeal of a teacher scorned the idea of an eternity hereafter, the character of which depended on the impulse given to the life in this world. For the earlier stoical tenet that all created things rolled on in a perpetually recurring cycle, Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor had substituted the doctrine of absorption immediately after death into the Divine

have been only an outbreak of popular fury, seconded by the active approval of the magistrate ; but when a rescript of the Emperor was received, condemning to torture and death all who refused to deny Christ, full scope was given to the uncontrolled violence of the mob, and neither age nor sex was spared.

The weakness and exhaustion consequent on this well-nigh exterminating crisis would preclude the idea that the churches of Southern Gaul were able for some years afterwards to effect anything beyond re-organising, and recovering lost ground. This consideration limits the date of the founding of the Church in Britain to the time immediately anterior to the

essence. To the influence of the Emperor should be ascribed the passing of a law (*Dig.* xlviii. tit. 19, 1. 30, quoted in Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, vol. i. 448), which, though worded in general terms, was doubtless directed against the Christians, subjecting to exile whoever endeavoured to influence unstable minds through superstitious fear of the Divinity. 3. To these considerations we must add the Emperor's fear that Christianity was destructive of the unity of the empire, and the profession of it incompatible with military obedience. Life in the Roman army involved a compliance with many usages which strained to the utmost the conscience of the Christian soldier.—(Tertullian, *De Coronâ*, 1, 11, 12.) The military experience of Marcus Aurelius and his prescience of the threatening attitude which the barbarians were already assuming on the frontiers, would render him keenly impatient of whatever appeared to impair the efficiency of the army. It was probably this feeling more than anything else that persuaded him to give official sanction to the attempt to exterminate the Christians of Lyons and Vienne. This explanation appears conclusive when viewed in the light of the circumstances that this persecution was limited to Southern Gaul, and that it appears to synchronise with the breaking out of the Marcomannic war.

persecution. It has, indeed, been thought that there may have been a repetition of what is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, when, on the death of S. Stephen, the disciples that were scattered abroad preached the Word to the distant countries in which they had found shelter. But the evangelisation of Britain seems to have been effected in a manner too orderly and systematical to be consistent with such a supposition. Nothing, however, can be more in unison with the policy of the Early Church than that with the fresh accession of strength which the Asiatic mission of Pothinus and Irenæus brought with it, the Church at Lyons should find an outlet for its zeal in a well-organised endeavour to convert the British Isles. In this conclusion all the probabilities appear to converge. Nor should it be omitted as a factor to be taken into account in calculating the weight of these probabilities that, if there be a substratum of fact in the story of Lucius and Eleutherius so far as to suggest the arrival of a staff of foreign priests, the date assigned to the incident would harmonise with the requirements of the conclusion to which we have come.¹

¹ It must be acknowledged that a statement of S. Irenæus (c. A.D. 176) seems to militate against the above conclusion; in what is evidently intended to be an exhaustive list of the Churches in the West, he mentions by name those planted in Germany, in Spain, and in Gaul, but does not even allude to the British Church : *καὶ οὐτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις*

It is disappointing, but under the circumstances perfectly explicable, that the first British historian throws no light upon the topics which have been discussed. With the exception of an ambiguous passage, wherein he applies to Britain the description given by Eusebius of the general spread of the Gospel in the reign of Tiberius, Gildas attempts no explanation of the origin of British Christianity. He honestly confesses, that, if there were any records of his own country, 'they had been destroyed in the fires of the enemy, or had been conveyed by his exiled countrymen into foreign lands.' He is scrupulously exact in qualifying his promise by a 'quantum tamen potuero.' This silence, however, testifies to the authenticity of his

No information respecting the first preaching of the Gospel in Britain to be derived from Gildas.

ἰδρυμέναί ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἰδρυμέναί. *Contra Hæreses*, lib. i. 10. (Celtas esse populos Galliæ comatæ inter Garumnam et Sequanam hoc loco notat Feuarentius. Notæ in lib. S. Irenæi *Contra Hæreses*; Migne, *Seris Græca*, tom. vii. 1431.) The omission may, however, be satisfactorily accounted for, without ascribing it to the non-existence at the time of a Church in Britain. What more natural than that, as the British Church was the outcome of the missionary zeal of the Gallican churches, S. Irenæus should consider it comprehended under the category of those in Gaul, or, as the British was yet in its infancy, and its authority necessarily of no great weight, that S. Irenæus should not name it in an argument whose whole point was the fact that well-known, long-established churches scattered throughout the world adhered to the One Faith as it had been received from the Apostles? It should be added, as corroborative of the first of the two alternatives, that in the list of bishops present at Arles we find the signatures of the three British bishops included among those of Gaul.

writings.¹ Living about A.D. 516–570, this interval would be the breathing time which ensued after the

¹ An absurd attempt has been made to question their genuineness and authenticity, and to consider them as forgeries by a Saxon monk. It would be almost impossible to conceive any work with stronger internal evidence of authenticity, and in this case authenticity involves genuineness. The querulousness of the writer, his denunciations of his countrymen, alternating with hopes of a bright future, his profound respect for the Roman name, so characteristic of a provincial of the sixth century, his evidently undesigned use of Celtic words, all are indisputable proofs of his sincerity and general truthfulness. Of the last-named characteristic we have an instance in the description he gives of the boats of the Scots and Picts. A Saxon writer would have called them *cinlac* or *ceolæ*, but Gildas uses the familiar Celtic term *curach*, in, of course, the Latin form of *Curuca*. This term *curach* is found also in Tigernach (A.D. 622), where the death of Conan, son of Gabhran, with his ‘*curach*’ is chronicled. It occurs in the same sense in the Brehon laws, ‘*Cethri ba ar longaib, ocus cethri barcaib, ocus cethri ba ar curcha,*’—‘Four cows for ships (*naves longæ*), four for barques (*scaphæ*), and four cows for curachs (*curucæ*).’ (*H. 2, 16, col. 930, Trin. Coll. Dubl., quoted in Reeves, Adamn. V. S. Columbae, notes to introd. p. 241.*)

Gildas tells us that he was born in the year of the battle of Badon, that is, in 516 (*Ann. Camb., M. H. B., 830*), and that forty-four years after that event he wrote his treatise. Tigernach chronicles his death under the year 570—‘A.D. 570, *Itea Culana Credil et Gillas quieverunt* ;’ the annals of Ulster and of Inisfallen a year earlier, ‘A.D. 569, *Gildas obiit*,’ *Ann. Ult.* ; ‘A.D. 569, *Quies Gildais episcopi*,’ *Ann. Inis.* There are two lives of Gildas extant, one (*MS. C.C.C. Cant., 139, 24, twelfth cent.*) is ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan on the authority of a couplet in the MS., and is printed in Stevenson’s edition of *Gildas*, and, shortened, in Capgrave’s *N. L. A., f. 156*. The other is by the Monk of Ruys, written, Bollandus thinks, shortly after A.D. 1024. It is printed in Colgan’s *Actt. SS. Hib., 181–207*, from the life in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, ‘a Joanne de Bosco,’ and in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 29, ii. 958–967 ; and afterwards more fully in Mabill., *Actt. SS. Bened., i. 130–142*. The contents of the two lives, if we omit a few leading ideas, are so different, that it has been conjectured that they relate to two different persons, Gildas Albanus and Gildas Bado-nicus, and that, owing to identity of names, their actions have been

British victory at mount Badon, and lasted for fifty years, down to the second period of the English conquest under Ceawlin. So destructive, however, of the national life had been the first invasion that all authentic history had disappeared. A great chasm had opened, over which there was no bridge of oral or written tradition by which Gildas could pass from the present to the past. Still there were as yet no signs of the rapid approach of that second period which, after a terrible warfare of forty years, ended in the battle of Chester, and in the destruction of that city, to be left desolate for the next three hundred years, until it was rebuilt by the politic Æthelflæd of Mercia. From the Thames to the Frith of Forth, from the fens of Lincoln to S. David's, protected by the forest-belt of the Great Andredsweald, the country was still in the possession of the natives. Accordingly Gildas, although after the manner of

confusedly mixed up. Mabillon, however, sums up against such a view :—' Bollandus ' (who, however, had not seen the Life by Caradoc of Llancarvan) ' in commentario prævio ad S. Gildæ vitam die 29 Januarii, et Gerardus Vossius in lib. 2 *De Historiis Latinis*, cap. 21, Gildam Albanium et Badonicum unum et eundem esse contendunt, qui Albanus dictus sit a patre Albanie rege, Badonicus a prælio adversus Saxones apud Badonicum montem commisso, eo quo Gildas natus est anno, ut ipse in libro de Britannie excidio testari videtur. Usserius contra in lib. 2 *De Scriptorib. Hiber.* et Colganus in prædictis Actis ad diem 29 Januarii, cum aliis fere Britannie Scriptorum Nomenclatoribus, unum ab altero distinguunt. At nos hujusce vitæ Scriptoris, Bollandi et Vossii sententiam ultro amplectimur, negamusque Gildam Albanium et Badonicum esse diversos.'—*Actt. SS. Bened.* i. 129, 130.

the Hebrew Prophets, he sees in the desolation around God's judgments for the sins of the people, considers that the worst was over, and that the future would bring with it complete deliverance from their cruel foes. For the period extending from the Roman invasion of Britain to the revolt of Maximus, the authorities of Gildas appear to be the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in the version by Rufinus, the Epistles of S. Jerome, and perhaps the Ecclesiastical History of Sulpicius Severus.¹ It came not within the province of these writers to dwell upon the life of the British Church, except incidentally; and unhappily, but unavoidably under the circumstances, the same meagreness of facts on this subject forms the characteristic feature of Gildas.

But for the existence of a Church in Britain in the last half of the second century, most unquestionable, and in two instances almost contemporary, Testimony of early writers. authorities can be adduced. Tertullian (A.D. 208), enumerating the various nations who believed, Tertullian. speaks of the haunts of the Britons, who at that time were in revolt against Severus, as 'inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ.'²

¹ Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* i. 137.

² 'In quem enim alium universæ gentes crediderunt, nisi in Christum qui jam venit? Cui enim et aliæ gentes crediderunt? Parthi . . . et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, . . . in quibus omnibus locis Christi

Origen (A.D. 239) asks, 'When has Britain before the arrival of Christ assented to the religious Origen.

belief in One God? But now by reason of the churches which occupy the ends of the world, the whole earth shouts with joy to the God of Israel.'¹

Elsewhere he dwells upon the far-reaching power of the Gospel as shown in the fact that, notwithstanding the isolated situation of Britain, it had penetrated even to that country.² The language of Eusebius.

Eusebius, though less precise in its conclusion, assumes the conversion of Britain in the Apostolic age as an accepted fact; 'That some of them (the disciples) should reach the extremities of the inhabited world, . . . and that others should cross the ocean to the isles called Bretannic, I no longer think

nomen, Qui jam venit, regnat; . . . utpote in quibus omnibus locis populus nominis Christi inhabitet. . . . Quid de Romanis dicam, qui de legionum suarum præsidiis imperium suum muniunt, nec trans istas gentes porrigere vires regni sui possunt? Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur.'—*Adv. Judæos*, vii. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. ii. 610, 611.)

¹ 'Quando enim terra Britanniae ante adventum Christi Unius Dei consensit religionem? . . . Nunc vero propter ecclesias, quæ mundi limites tenent, universa terra cum lætitia clamat ad Dominum Israel.'—*Homil.* iv. *in Ezekiel*, vertente Hieron. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxv. col. 723.)

² 'Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur, et cum his qui in Mauritania, et cum universis qui sub sole in nomine Ejus crediderunt. Vide ergo magnitudinem Salvatoris, quomodo in toto orbe diffusa sit.' *Homil.* vi. *in Luc.* i. 24, eodem vertente. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxvi. col. 232.)

to be the work of a mere man, much less of poor mean men, least of all of deceivers and impostors.’¹ S. Hilary. To the same effect are the words of S. Hilary: ‘In the next place the Apostles founded very many churches, and throughout all parts of the world which could be reached, nay even in the isles of the sea, they provided very many habitations for God.’² Arnobius Junior (A.D. 461) is equally decisive in favour of the early conversion of Britain: ‘So swiftly runneth His word, that whereas for so many thousand years God was known in Judæa alone, now within a few years he has been revealed to the very Indians, and even to the Britons from the extreme West.’³

¹ Τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ αὐτὴν τε τὴν βασιλικωτάτην πόλιν νείμασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίων, ἑτέρους δὲ τὸ Πάρθων ἔθνος, καὶ αὖ πάλιν τὸ Σκυθῶν. Τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, . . . καὶ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ταῦτα οὐκέτ’ ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, μή τι γὰρ κατὰ εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἰδιώτας, πολλοῦ δεῖ κατὰ πλάνους καὶ γόητας.—*Dem. Evang.* iii. 5 (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xxii. col. 204).

² ‘Sed et Moyses et Salomon tabernaculum condidit, et deinceps Apostoli plurima tabernacula condiderunt, et per omnes orbis terrarum partes, quæcumque adiri possunt, quin etiam in oceani insulis habitationes Deo plurimas paraverunt.’—*Tract. in xiv. Psalmum*, c. 3. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. ix. col. 300, 301.)

³ ‘Tam velociter currit sermo Ejus, ut cum per tot millia annorum in sola Judæa notus fuerit Deus, nunc intra paucos annos nec ipsos Indos lateat a parte Orientis, nec ipsos Britones a parte occidentis.’ *In Psalm.* cxlvii. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. liii. col. 564, 565.)

CHAPTER II.

The Roman Empire was the third foundation-stone of the Christian religion ; for its vast extent facilitated in a singular manner the early and very rapid diffusion of Christianity, and formed, indeed, the groundwork on which the fabric of the new Church was first constructed.—SCHLEGEL, *Philosophy of History*, p. 289.

WITH the close of the second century the Roman Empire, as the visible embodiment of a power which, while by its force of character as well as by the completeness of its organisation it ensured the obedience of nations, had upheld, amidst many contradictions in practice, the belief in justice and law, began to pass away. That public spirit, which lay at the root of Rome's genius for action and was the secret of her influence over the subject nationalities, was rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The soldiery had become the ruling power in the State ; while the popular conscience was being stamped out by the crimes and infamy of emperors, the subserviency of a godless but superstitious aristocracy,¹ and the coarse brutality of the populace.

Signs of the
approaching
fall of the
Roman Em-
pire.

¹ The description which Ammianus Marcellinus, himself a pagan, gives of the aristocracy of his day, is equally true of the third century ;

‘The Egyptians prostrate before the beasts of the Nile outraged humanity less than the age of Antonines with its philosophers and its jurisconsults rendering divine honours to the Emperor Commodus.’¹ Two centuries indeed were yet to elapse before the capture of Rome by the Goths, but in the moral degradation of society Rome already carried in her bosom the sentence of her impending ruin. It is not so much in the gathering of the barbarians along the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, as in the present utter incapacity of Rome for high and generous exertion, that the handwriting on the wall can be clearly discerned announcing her approaching fall. And yet so strong was the belief of men in the enduring majesty of the Empire, that the crash of its fall struck terror into men’s hearts, and its destruction was supposed to involve the speedy end of the world. The instinctive cry of horror to which S. Jerome gave utterance on receiving the news that Alaric had entered Rome with fire and sword, was only an echo of the cry which rang throughout the whole civilised

he notices therein the combination in the Roman nobles of the seemingly opposite qualities of unbelief and childish credulity, no longer believing in the gods, but not daring to dine, or bathe, or appear in public before the astrologers had assured them, from the position of the planets and the appearance of the moon, of the favour of the divinity. (xxviii. 4.)

¹ Ozanam, *La Civilisation au Cinquième Siècle*, vol. i. p. 113. Paris, 1855.

world : ' A terrible rumour reaches us from the West, my voice falters, sobs stifle the words I dictate, the city which had taken the whole world captive is herself a captive, destroyed by famine, by the sword, with only a remnant left to be taken prisoners.'¹

Of the physical causes which contributed to the decline and eventually the fall of the Roman Empire, the most fatal was the gradual depopulation which had begun to show itself as early as the close of the Republic, and which, in spite of the passing of laws intended to counteract the evil, had increased under the Empire in an accelerated ratio. As long as fresh provinces were annexed, and the legions drew their recruits from among conquered nationalities, the injurious effects of this internal drain were not seriously felt, but when the tide of conquest was checked and reversed, the end became simply a question of time. This depopulation was due partly to the waste of human life in the insurrections and foreign wars, but in a still greater degree to the crushing burdens of fiscal exactions. The prodigious expenditure of the emperors, and of the civil and military administration, involved ever-increasing demands, until at last all branches of trade sank under the weight. To the

Depopulation of the Empire caused by foreign and civil wars and by fiscal exactions.

¹ Epist. cxxviii., *Marcellæ Viduæ Epitaph.* (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxii. col. 1094.)

decurions, the landed but unprivileged class, was allotted the difficult, and towards the end, the impossible task of providing the revenue of the state and the local taxes, and of finding men to fill up the ranks of the legions.¹ Forced by the central sovereign power at Rome to furnish money and men, hated by their fellow-citizens as the instruments for carrying out the imperial fiscal tyranny, the decurions, who constituted the municipal bodies through whose local agency the administrative functions of the empire were conducted, tried every mode to evade what the imperial rescripts would call the privilege of serving their country, and of forming a provincial senate.² They found it impossible to satisfy the demands of the Roman fisc. It claimed, first, the capitation or the poll tax, obligatory upon all between the age of fifteen and sixty. The exaction of this impost gave rise to grievous abuses, the

¹ 'Mais l'avidité fiscale détruisit tout ce que les lois ou les circonstances avaient attribué d'autorité aux curies. Les curiales furent déclarés solidaires pour toutes les exactions imposées aux provinces. Les contributions avec leurs surcharges étaient d'abord acquittées par eux, pour être réparties ensuite sur les contribuables ; les levées de soldats étaient également exigées d'eux ; c'étaient eux qui fournissaient des chevaux et des équipages aux juges de province et à tous les officiers civils et militaires qui voyageaient aux frais de l'état.'—*Histoire des Français*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, vol. i. p. 37.

² 'Les juges, les présidents de province furent accablés de pétitions de citoyens qui, sous mille prétextes, demandaient à être rayés du rôle de la curie, et dispensés d'entrer dans la magistrature provinciale.'—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 37.

fiscal collectors entering the house by force and children reckoned older and men younger to bring them within the reach of the law. Then came the indiction or property tax, and in extraordinary cases the superindiction or exceptional property tax. To disclose the real value of the income of the head of the family, slaves and even wives and children were tortured, while any attempt to make a false return was punished with the death of the offender and the confiscation of his goods. To these imposts should be added the *chrysargyrum* or charge upon industry; and, lastly, upon the accession to the throne of a new emperor, or upon the recurrence during his reign of any event supposed or represented to be a subject of public joy, the crown tax, which was only in name a voluntary gift, for no one could withhold it with impunity.¹

Under the pressure of this taxation all joy and all hope were crushed out in the peasantry. They abandoned their homes and occupations, and fled into the woods, where they formed themselves into bands of brigands (*Bagaudæ*);² or

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. c. 17; Ozanam, *La Civilisation au Cinquième Siècle*, vol. ii. pp. 319, 320.

² 'Quibus enim aliis rebus Bagaudæ facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris, nisi improbitatibus iudicum, nisi eorum proscriptionibus et rapinis, qui exactionis publicæ nomen in quæstus proprii emolumenta verterunt, et indictiones tributarias prædas suas esse fecerunt, qui in

hating the very name of Romans, they joined the barbarians, finding slavery with them less oppressive than a falsely called freedom under their own government.¹ With the extinction of the municipal bodies the connection between the central sovereign power and the extremities of the body politic was broken off, the revenue ceased, the legions were not recruited, the cities found themselves unable to assist each other or defend themselves, and internal weakness invited and facilitated barbarian attacks.²

But although signs of the breaking up of Roman civilisation were already making their appearance, distant provinces, like Britain, enjoyed as yet a large measure of prosperity. Instead of the scandalous

*similitudinem immanium bestiarum non rexerunt traditos sibi sed devorant.*³—Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. v. 6.

¹ 'Vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculantur in tantum, ut multi eorum et non obscuris natalibus editi, et liberaliter instituti, ad hostes fugiant, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur, quærentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanam humanitatem, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt . . . malunt enim sub specie captivitatis vivere liberi, quam sub specie libertatis esse captivi.'⁴—*Ibid.* lib. v. 5.

² The Roman Empire was in idea a great coalition of municipalities. The old towns of Western Europe, at one time sovereign municipalities like Rome itself, on being incorporated with the empire, lost their ancient rights of legislation, of peace and war, &c. ; their municipal system, however, in its outward framework, continued to exist, but with different functions attached to it. Instead of being a political government, and the fountain of sovereignty, it was changed into a mode of administration concerned only with the collecting of the Imperial taxes and the civic interests of the town. Guizot, *Hist. of Civilisation in Europe*, vol. i. 141 (Bohn).

rapacity which characterised Roman provincial governors at the close of the Republic, we find a succession of high-souled rulers, whose sense of duty never allowed them, under the worst of emperors, to despair of what they considered the national destiny of Rome, or to forget the obligations of public trust. After the first conquest was fully achieved by Agricola, Britain passed into a condition of security and peace. Roman valour and Roman engineering were forthcoming to keep in check the North Britons, while as yet the English harrying of the east coast was little if at all felt. The appearance of independence was left to the native princes, but with a clear understanding that no tribal feuds or petty wars would be allowed to interrupt the 'Pax Romana.' In the third and fourth centuries, Britain, in the exaggerated language of Gildas, was a land abounding in tyrants, but the revolutions which set up one local emperor after another were not generally of such a nature as to lead to lengthy campaigning, or grievously to affect the people at large. A single battle in the instance of the rebel Allectus decided the issue between the competitors.

At the opening of the third century the coming storm had not yet burst.

This state of tranquillity would naturally be conducive to the growth of the British Church. Another favourable circumstance was its exceptional immunity

from all the persecutions, except the last. For this it was indebted to the distance of the province from Rome, which kept it outside the circle of persecutions, so long as they were the result of the personal caprice of the emperors, or of causes applicable only to certain countries. Under these conditions the 'Word of God' had free course, and we find, from an incident recorded by Eusebius and Sozomen,¹ in illustration of the kindly feeling of Constantius to Christianity, that Christians were to be found in A.D. 306 among the officers of his household. The story is, that Constantius one day gave the choice to his servants of sacrificing to devils or of being dismissed from his service and perhaps punished. Some of them, unwilling to offend, as they imagined, the emperor, abjured the Christian faith, while others remained steadfast. Having thus discovered their real sentiments, Constantius treated the latter with still greater confidence, but dismissed the former on the reasonable ground that they who had betrayed their God would never prove true to an earthly master. But, further, we should be warranted in concluding that even before this incident, Christianity had secured for itself a position in Britain in

The organisation of the Empire by ensuring the internal peace of the Island contributing to the expansion of the British Church. Another favourable condition,—its long immunity from state persecutions.

¹ *Vit. Constantini*, i. 16. (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xx. col. 932.) Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 6. (*Ibid.* tom. lxxvii. col. 872.)

the highest ranks of society, if the traditionary accounts of the nationality and religion of Helen, the first wife of Constantius, could be accepted as historical.¹ That Helen was the daughter of Coel Godebog, king of Colchester, and a Christian, is affirmed by native tradition and by the earliest English historians; and so great was her popularity in Britain during the middle ages that seventy-two churches were dedicated in her name, three in the joint names of SS. Mary and Helen, one in the

¹ In the *Acta SS.* iii. 578, Aug. 18, reference is made to several Lives of the Empress Helena; one by Jocelin of Furness is printed in Capgrave's *N. L. A.*, f. 173 (Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* i. 54, 55). Gibbon favours the conclusion that Helen was a Dacian by birth, and of humble extraction, finding a supposed allusion to the last-named circumstance in a statement of Eutropius, that Constantine was '*ex obscuriore matrimonio ejus filius.*'—*Decline and Fall*, ii. 186, 187. It must be acknowledged that arguments, based on chronological difficulties, against Helen's British origin seem conclusive. At the same time it has in its favour the great authority of Camden and Ussher; in a Letter to Ussher, quoted by the latter, in *Britann. Antiq.* cap. viii. (*Opp.* vol. v. 228, 229), Camden sums up the question: '*Historici omnes qui de loco natal Constantini Maximi scripserunt una voce, præter duos Græculos Cedrenum et Nicephorum, in Britannia natum asserunt: et historiæ fides ut certa favenda, cum in idem plures ut testes consentiunt. Cedrenum, qui natum circa urbem Daciæ tradit, ut vanitatis manifestum ipse rejicis; nos itidem Nicephorum qui Drepani Bithyniæ natum, cum ut vanum, tum ut ætate minorem ad testimonium perhibendum rejicimus. Præ scriptoribus enim qui contra eunt, nuperus ille et novitius; ab anno scilicet MCCCXL sub Andronico Juniore. Cui, præter vitam Helenæ Anglo-Saxonice circa annum DCCCCXL scriptam, Henricum Huntingdonensem, Guilielmum Malmesburiensem, Johannem Sarisburiensem, ejusdem ævi, cum denso scriptorum agmine opponamus; qui Nicephoro, judicio non inferiores, tempore antiquiores. Quo autem quisque tempore antiquior et rei gestæ loco propior, majorem et potiolem fidem mereatur.*'

names of SS. Giles and Helen, and one in those of SS. John Baptist and Helen.¹

But independently of direct testimony, the great and last persecution, and the triumph which followed, witness alike to the fact, that Christianity throughout the whole Roman world was about to attain its final and complete ascendancy. The time, indeed, had arrived when there was really no choice left save to crush Christianity or to allow it to be the dominant religion. Diocletian, after considerable hesitation, and in opposition to his own sounder judgment,² was forced by Galerius to the former alternative. Constantine, a few years later, from policy or incipient conviction, or more probably actuated by mixed motives, declared

Strength of
the British
Church at
the close of
the third
century.

¹ *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, p. 244. (Parker, 1851.)

² Various circumstances prove the great unwillingness of Diocletian to depart from his originally tolerant policy, and that it is not so much to him as to Galerius that the persecution should be ascribed. Of the twenty-one years during which Diocletian reigned, the first nineteen were characterised by so much toleration, bordering upon actual favour, towards the Christians, that his open adhesion to the Faith was considered not improbable. His wife Prisca and his daughter Valeria, with many of the most responsible officers of the palace, were already Christians; nor were they in the slightest degree restrained from participation in Christian worship. A very large number of Christian soldiers had indeed been put to death, but this was only indirectly connected with religion; contrary to the judgment of the Church, they held themselves bound by their Christian profession to refuse obedience to the military authorities, and thus rendered themselves subject to the severity of martial law.—(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 4.) The declamatory reproaches of Lactantius against Diocletian are not borne out by his narrative of facts.

himself a protector of the Church. The fidelity of his troops, following him from Britain to the gates of Rome, and their confidence in the justice and ultimate triumph of his cause, are indications that they consisted mainly of Christians. In this Christian tinge and colouring, the army of Constantine, quartered as it had been in Britain, and recruited from the native youth, necessarily reflected the religious sentiment of the inhabitants in general,

The last general persecution began at Nicomedia, on the 23rd of February, A.D. 303, with the destruction of the church, which, situated on a rising ground, was within sight of the palace. On Diocletian persecution. the following day an edict was published, enjoining that all the churches throughout the empire should be demolished, and the sacred books of the Christians be given up to be publicly burnt; it also declared the holding of secret meetings for religious purposes to be a capital offence. After a short interval, two other edicts were issued: by the first all persons holding an ecclesiastical office were to be imprisoned, and by the second they were to be forced by tortures and punishments to offer sacrifice. In the following year the terms of the last edict were enlarged so as to comprehend the whole body of Christians.

It had been observed centuries before, that, in consequence of the great extent of the Roman world,

and the perfectness of its administrative machinery, there was no escape for the unfortunate from the power of the conqueror.¹ This universal supervision of the central authority had become still more exacting under the Empire;² and the execution of the edicts from Nicomedia was enforced from East to West, though with different shades of rigour, according to the disposition of the local authorities. In the Western provinces of Gaul and Britain, Constantius endeavoured to mitigate the rigour of these edicts. His subordinate position would not allow him to disregard entirely the injunctions of his superiors, and he was compelled to permit the demolition of churches—mere walls, capable of being built up again—but he preserved entire that true temple of God which is the human body.³ The vague declamation of Gildas⁴ respecting

The persecu-
tion felt,
though not
in its extreme
severity, in
Britain.

¹ Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, iv. 7.

² 'It was between the reigns of Augustus and Diocletian that, at the same time that civil legislation developed itself, there became established the vast system of administrative despotism which spread over the Roman world a network of functionaries, hierarchically distributed, well linked together, both among themselves and with the imperial court, and solely applied to rendering effective in society the will of power, and in transferring to power the tributes and energies of society.' Guizot, *Hist. of Civilisation in Europe*, vol. i. p. 29.

³ 'Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant dirui passus est; verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. Vexabatur ergo universa terra, et præter Gallias ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestię sæviebant.'—Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.* xv, xvi.; Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. vii. col. 217.

⁴ 'Supradicto ut cognoscimus persecutionis tempore . . . clarissimas

the extent and violence of this persecution can only be accepted with certain limitations; it is evidently the application to Britain of the language in which Eusebius described the persecution in general,¹ and is directly at variance with what is said elsewhere of the condition of Britain by Eusebius himself² and by Sozomen³ and Lactantius. Of the British Christians who suffered, the names of three martyrs, with the scenes of their sufferings, have been handed down—S. Alban at Verulamium, and SS. Aaron and Julius at Caerleon-on-Usk. There exists a discrepancy as to the exact date of these martyrdoms,⁴ nor does the earliest tradition go be-

lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit, quorum nunc corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortione barbarorum, quamplurima ob scelera nostra, civibus adimerentur, non minimum in-tuentium mentibus ardorem Divinæ charitatis incuterent; Sanctum Albanum Verolamiensem, Aaron et Julium, Legionum urbis cives, et cæteros utriusque sexus diversis in locis summa magnanimitate in acie Christi perstantes dico.'—*Hist.* viii. (M. H. B. 8).

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 2; Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xx. col. 744.

² (Κωνσταντίος) . . . τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν (Χριστιανῶν) πολέμου μηδαμῶς ἐπικοινωνήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς, ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστους φυλάξας, καὶ μήτε τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελὼν, μήθ' ἑτερόν τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινουργήσας.—*H. E.* viii. 13 (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xx. col. 780.) Cf. *De Mart. Palestin.* xiii. 345. (*Ibid.* tom. xx. col. 1527).

³ Διωκομένων γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην Ἐκκλησιῶν, μόνος Κωνσταντίος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ ἀδεῶς θρησκεύειν συνεχώρησε τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς.—*Hist. Eccl.* i. 6. (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. lxxvii. 872.) There is no real inconsistency between Lactantius and Eusebius; the former, as Gibbon observes, is evidently speaking of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus.—*Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. 16, n. 165.

⁴ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (M. H. B. 296) and the *Liber*

yond the fact that it was believed at Verulamium at the time of the first visit of S. Germanus (A.D. 429) that a martyr named Alban was buried near that city.¹ Still the authority of Gildas, although in the case of Julius and Aaron unsupported by any local traditions earlier than the ninth or it may be the twelfth century,² is amply sufficient for the authenticity of the names of these martyrs, and of the time and towns which witnessed their deaths.

The story of the martyrdom of S. Alban, as given at length by Bæda,³ is founded upon the briefer S. Alban. account of Gildas and certain legends current in the time of Bæda. S. Alban, while yet a pagan, received into his house a certain cleric flying from his persecutors. Struck by the faith and piety of this man, who spent night and day in prayer and watching, and gradually instructed by his wholesome exhortations, he abandoned the darkness of idolatry and in all sincerity of heart embraced the Christian faith. When the concealment of the confessor of Christ came to the ears of the governor, he ordered a party of *Landavensis* (p. 27) give the date of A.D. 286, the latter still connecting it with the Diocletian persecution.

¹ Bæda, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 18.

² The earlier date of the local tradition depends upon the genuineness of a Charter of that century, said to have been agreed to by the sons of Beli in favour of Bishop Nudd (*Lib. Landav.* p. 215). The twelfth century authorities are Geoffrey of Monmouth (v. 5 ; ix. 12), and Giraldus (*Itin. Camb.* i. 5 ; *Opp.* vi. 56).

³ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 18.

soldiers to make a strict search for him. As soon as these soldiers came to the martyr's house, S. Alban surrendered himself, instead of his guest and master, in the habit or long cloak which he wore, and was led bound before the judge. Questioned and scourged, but continuing steadfast in the Faith, S. Alban was condemned to be put to death. When he came to the river, which in a rapid current ran between the walls of the town and the place where he was to suffer, he saw the bridge over which he was to pass so thronged with men and women that he could hardly cross over that evening. With his soul on fire to arrive quickly at his martyrdom, he approached the stream, and lifting up his eyes to heaven he perceived the water falling back, and thus opening a way for him to pass. The executioner, observing this manifestation of Divine favour, threw away his drawn sword, and, falling at S. Alban's feet, prayed to be allowed to suffer with the martyr, or, if possible, in his stead. The place of execution was a hill, about five hundred paces from the river's bank, adorned or rather clothed with various kinds of flowers, neither precipitous nor craggy, but sloping gently into the plain below, a spot from its rare beauty worthy to be consecrated by a martyr's blood. Here, therefore, after another miraculous interposition, a living spring bursting forth at S. Alban's feet in answer to his

prayer that God would give him water, the glorious martyr was beheaded, and here he received the crown of life which God has promised to them who love Him.

In the twelfth century version of the story of the martyrdom of S. Alban, the 'caracalla' or 'amphibalus,' the long cloak in which, according to S. Amphibalus. Bæda, the martyr was clad, is transformed into the name of the priest who found shelter under his roof, and who afterwards, as S. Amphibalus, obtained a fame almost rivalling that of his protector. Tradition says that the spot of S. Alban's death was where the north transept of the abbey now stands, but that Amphibalus escaped to Wales at the time, to be afterwards put to death at Redbourne. The received account at S. Alban's in the twelfth century¹ was, that the people, urged by a certain judge who wished to gratify the heathen populace, or, according to another version,² infuriated by witnessing the miraculous cure of a sick man, seized S. Amphibalus, and having cruelly wounded him, drove him with whips and knives around a stake they had fixed in the

¹ *Actt. SS. Jun. 22*, tom. iv. 149-159. The writer, William, a monk of S. Alban's, describes the account he gives as a translation from an older English MS. He also adds that the sufferings of S. Alban had been sculptured by the citizens 'in muris suæ civitatis,' and that these had been discovered 'longo post tempore,' but in a ruinous state.

² Capgrave, *N. L. A.* ff. 13-146.

ground, until at length the martyr's spirit, whose strength was sustained by a beatific vision of Jesus standing at the right hand of the Father, and by a voice from heaven assuring him of the rest of Paradise, was conveyed amidst the hymns of angels to his heavenly home. More than eight hundred years afterwards, in the reign of Henry II., his supposed remains, with those of nine of his companions, are said to have been discovered under the guidance of the Blessed Alban, who, having appeared to one Robert Mercer, a devotional honest citizen of S. Alban's, conducted him to the spot where they lay, from whence they were translated by Abbot Simon to the Abbey, and interred in the lady chapel near those of the British proto-martyr.¹

The persecution ceased in Britain in A.D. 305, upon the resignation of Diocletian. In other countries, however, especially in the South-eastern parts of the Empire under Maximin, it continued with slight intermission for ten years, down to the Edict of Milan, in A.D. 313. An interval of external peace followed, when new errors and new difficulties arose, to meet which the childlike implicit faith and the simple obedience of the first ages no longer sufficed. Such an emergency had been provided against in the teaching of Scripture that the

Church
Councils.

¹ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Minor.* vol. i. 401-409 (Madden ed. 1866).

Church was an organic body, quickened by the informing spirit of Christ. There are, indeed, no direct texts in the New Testament enjoining the exact mode of ascertaining the collective judgment of the Church; nor was this to be expected, when we bear in mind that in matters relating to organisation the object of the Apostles was to lay down certain general principles, leaving the application to the community, which they taught was endowed with a Divine life. But as it was considered a fundamental law from the beginning that, in the words of S. Cyprian, 'the episcopate is one, and each individual bishop has an equal share in it as joint-tenant,'¹ assemblies of bishops were held from the earliest times, and their ruling, as that of 'the actual representation of the whole Christian name,'² was regarded as decisive. By the end of the first half of the second century these Councils, though as yet on a small scale, had become a recognised organ in the system of the Church, and the 'Collection' by P. Labbe reckons no less than sixty-two previous to the peace of the Church.

In A.D. 314 the first Council of Arles was held, to

¹ 'Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.'—*De Unitate Eccl.* § v. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. iv. col. 501.)

² 'Aguntur præterea per Græcias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis ecclesiis per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur, et ipsa representatio totius nominis Christiani magna veneratione celebratur.'—Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, xiii.

settle the dispute between Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists. Cæcilian had been elected in A.D. 311 to the see then vacant by the death of Mensurius. The Numidian bishops, offended by the hurry which allowed them not to be present to assist in the consecration, and urged by certain Presbyters of Carthage, impugned the validity of the appointment, on the ground that he had been ordained by a 'traditor,' Felix, Bishop of Aptunga, and they elected Majorinus to the Bishopric of Carthage in his stead. Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, or another person of the same name, to whom, on account of his eminent learning, the Sect gave the title of 'Great,' succeeded Majorinus in the see, and the schism thus perpetuated spread over the whole of Northern Africa. After several ineffectual attempts of a less formal nature to heal the evil, Constantine convened a council of bishops, and Arles was chosen for the place of meeting. Arles was of old the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Roman province of Narbonnensis,¹ and its Church traced its foundation to

British
Bishops at
the Council
of Arles.

¹ A bitter and protracted dispute arose in the fourth century between the Churches of Arles and Vienne for this primacy. Pope Zosimus, in A.D. 417, favours the claims of Arles, but Leo the Great, A.D. 450, reverses the decision, and settles the dispute in favour of Vienne. The grounds upon which the bishops of the province of Arles founded their claims were the supposed foundation of their mother Church by S. Trophimus, that from thence the neighbouring cities sought and obtained their bishops, and the confirmation of such privileges by all the

S. Trophimus, a bishop said to have been sent by S. Peter ; nor was its dignity unknown as early as A.D. 255, for it was to its bishop that the *Literæ Formatæ* of travellers in Gaul were at that time addressed.¹ Two hundred bishops came together to this Council at Arles, and in the list of signatures we find among the bishops of Gaul the names of British bishops. Manuscripts do not agree in the number of these British bishops, but in the Corbey MS., which Haddon and Stubbs adjudge to be the best authority, they stand in the following order :—

‘ Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia
Britannia.

Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia
suprascripta

Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium.

Exinde Sacerdos presbyter ; Arminius diaconus.’²

predecessors of Pope Leo. To these arguments they subjoined the secular importance of Arles, that Constantine gave it his name, and that Valentinian and Honorius called it the mother of all the Gauls.—*Fleury, E. H.* xxi. 52 ; xxiii. 45 ; xxvii. 45 (Eng. Tr.).

¹ *S. Cypr. Epist.* lxviii.

² *Concilia*, Haddon and Stubbs, 7. The British equivalents for Eborius and Restitutus would probably be Efrog and Rhystyd, and for Adelfius, perhaps Cadfrawd. Eborius, in the ‘slightly varied forms of Ebur, Ibarus, or Ywor, reappears among the names of later British or Irish Bishops.—*Iolo MSS.* 514, 539 ; *Ann. Camb. in anno* 501 (M. H. B. 830) ; *Tigern. An.* 503 (O’Conor, ii. 127). The names of these British bishops, sent in a representative character to Arles, are not mentioned in any catalogue of Welsh saints, unless the very doubtful conjecture which would identify Adelfius with Cadfrawd, the son of Cadfan and great-grandson of Caradog, be admitted.

This description, both in placing York first—a feature eminently characteristic of the age of Constantine—and in the number of bishops it gives, being in the proportion of a bishop for each of the provinces into which Britain was at that time divided, together with its accord with the Circular of Constantine in mentioning the presence of two of the inferior clergy, bears unequivocal proofs of historical accuracy. Various emendations have been suggested for ‘*Colonia Londinensium*,’ which is clearly an error of the transcriber. The most probable is the substitution for *Londinensium* of *Legionensium*—Caerleon-on-Usk.¹ The Irish copy of Nennius’ ‘*Historia Britonum*’ gives the name of *Caer Lonin-oper-uisce* to that city, which name may easily have been corrupted into *Londinensium*, especially when *colonia* is the equivalent of *caer*.² Another not improbable explanation of the error has been suggested, that as the Second Legion was stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk, careless transcribers might easily turn the description of ‘*de civit. Col. Leg. II.*’ into ‘*de Civit. Col. Londin.*’³ Ussher, however, proposes Colchester,⁴ the *Caer Collon* of Nennius.⁵

¹ Stillingfleet, *Antiq.* ii. ; *Opp.* vol. iii. 48.

² Todd’s *Life of St. Patrick*, 268 n.

³ Williams Ab Ithel, *Antiq. of Cymry*, p. 82.

⁴ Ussher, *Whole Works*, vol. v. 82. Dr. Routh, however, decides in favour of Lincoln.—*Reliq. Sacr.* iv. pp. 80, 82.

⁵ It should be noted in connection with the Council of Arles that the British Church must have consented, through her representatives,

Besides condemning the schism of the Donatists, this Council at Arles endeavoured, though in vain, to close the Easter controversy. The original difference was, that the Western Church, followed herein by the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, observed Good Friday either on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, if it fell on a Friday, or, if not, on the next Friday, and Easter Day on the following Sunday. The Churches of Asia Minor, on the other hand, or the Quarto-decimans and the Ebionites, agreed in always observing the fourteenth day of the month Nisan as the anniversary of the

to the following propositions : 1, the observance of Easter Day at the same fixed time throughout the whole world, to be notified by the Bishop of Rome ; 2, the validity of Baptism, even when administered by heretics, if the form of baptising in the name of the Holy Trinity had been duly observed ; 3, the indissoluble nature of marriage as long as the man and wife are living ; and 4, the necessity of the presence of three bishops to render a consecration canonically valid. ‘Can. I. Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominici, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et juxta consuetudinem literas ad omnes tu (Episcopus Romanus) dirigas.’ ‘Can. VIII. De Afris, quod propria lege sua utuntur ut rebaptizent, placuit ut si ad ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi venerit, interrogent eum symbolum ; et si perviderint eum in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus ei tantum imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum Sanctum. Quod si interrogatus non responderit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur.’ ‘Can. X. De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere, placuit ut in quantum possit consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant.’ ‘Can. XX. De his qui usurpant sibi quod soli debeant Episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat, nisi assumptis secum aliis septem Episcopis : si tamen non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare.’—*Concil. Mansi*, tom. ii. 471–473.

Saviour's death, without reference to the day of the week. But while the Ebionites grounded their practice on the supposed perpetual obligation of the Jewish Law, the orthodox Quarto-decimans pleaded for this same usage the example and authority of S. John. Several local synods were held in the second century to settle the question, although as yet it involved no graver consequences than a certain unseemliness that the Churches should not fast and rejoice together. But when Victor, Bishop of Rome, threatened to excommunicate the Churches of Asia Minor, unless they conformed to the Western custom, the controversy assumed fresh importance. The diversity now became still further complicated by astronomical difficulties in connection with the fixing of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan. With a view, therefore, to uniformity of usage, the first of the twenty-two Canons passed at Arles ruled that Easter Day should be observed at the same time throughout the world, and that the Bishop of Rome should, according to custom, announce this time by Letters to all the Churches. The subject was again discussed at Nicæa, when it was decreed that Easter Day should be the first Sunday after the first full moon which fell on or after the vernal equinox.¹ The adaptation of

¹ No such decree is found among the Canons of Nicæa as they have come down to us ; but that the subject was discussed and an agreement

the solar and lunar years was left to the judgment of the Bishop of Alexandria, in consequence of the superior astronomical knowledge of his people. He was, however, to give notice to the Bishop of Rome, that the Eastern and Western Churches might be able to celebrate their Easter festival at the same time. Rome and Alexandria failed to agree in their calculations: the latter adopting the Metonic cycle of nineteen years as the basis of their Calendar, while Rome clung to the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years. The Synod of Sardica in A.D. 343 attempted a solution, but unsuccessfully. In the following century (A.D. 457) Leo the Great enjoined Victorius, a Gaul of Aquitaine, to draw up a new Paschal Canon. Adopting the Alexandrian plan of inserting the saltus lunæ after every nineteenth year, and making a few other concessions, Victorius corrected the epact by a reduction of two days, but he retained so many of the old Latin peculiarities as prevented an entire conformity between the Eastern and Western Churches.

come to is evident from one of Constantine's Epistles to the absent bishops: "Ενθα καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάσχα ἁγιωτάτης ἡμέρας γενομένης ζητήσεως, ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἡμέρας πάντας τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν . . . Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπανορθώσεως τυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς μίαν διατύπωσιν ἄγεσθαι τοῦτο ἢ θεία πρόνοια βούλεται, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἀπαντας ἡγοῦμαι συνορᾶν . . ." "Ἴνα δὲ τὸ κεφαλαιωδέστερον συντόμῳ εἴπω, κοινῇ πάντων ἤρεσε κρίσει, τὴν ἁγιωτάτην τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτὴν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ συντελεῖσθαι.—Eusebius, *Vit. Constantini*, iii. 18, 19 (Migne, *Ser̄ies Græca*, tom. xx. col. 1073-1077).

Whenever, however, the two modes of computation produced different results, Victorius set both of them down, leaving the choice to the Pope. But as the Pope naturally selected the alternative which was in accord with the Latin principle, it several times happened that Easter was celebrated on different days. Thus in the years 475, 495, 496, 499, and 516, Easter Day was eight days later in the West than in the East. The difficulty was not entirely removed until the acceptance, in A.D. 525, by Rome, and gradually by other countries, of the nineteen years cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, which, in complete accordance with the Alexandrian principles, made the Paschal new moon range between March 8 and April 5 (inclusive), and allowed the fifteenth lune to be Easter Day. At the time when this settlement was effected, the British Church was in a state of thorough isolation from the rest of Christendom. Hence the dispute at a subsequent date respecting Easter between the British bishops and S. Augustine, the origin of which was the adherence of the former to the old discarded Roman rule, and not to any sympathy on their part with the Quarto-decimans of Asia.¹

¹ The Britons kept to the 84 years cycle of Sulpicius Severus, but with some insular peculiarities of their own, such as observing Easter Day on the Sunday between the 14th and 20th lune (not, as was the custom of Rome in the time of Augustine, between the 15th

The British Church, now recognised as an integral part of the great Christian commonwealth, was henceforth, down to the time of the isolation of the Celtic churches in consequence of the English invasion, in constant communication with the Western communion. At this period no divergence in the essentials of Faith or of practice can be discovered between the British and Roman Churches; not that their relations involved on the part of the former any considerations save that of voluntary deference to the judgment of a see so ancient and important, and so uniformly orthodox as that of Rome. The famous Sixth Canon of Nicæa, on the patriarchal rights of Alexandria and Antioch, places the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in the same category as that of his Eastern colleagues.¹

and the 21st), and placing the Equinox, before which the festival could not fall, on the 25th of March. That the British Easter controversy was strictly one of a mere diversity of cycles, and in no way connected with the Quarto-deciman question, is completely borne out by Bæda's explicit statements: 'Unde et hanc (pascham) non, ut quidam falso opinantur, quarta decima luna in qualibet feria cum Judeis, sed die Dominica, semper agebat (Aidanus), a luna quarta decima usque ad vicesimam.'—*H. E.* iii. 17. Cf. *Ibid.* iii. 3, 25, 28; v. 21. There is, however, an unfair insinuation that the British Christians were Judaic in their observance of Easter Day in a letter of the Pope elect, John (A.D. 634), to the Scoti (Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 19), and in Aldhelm's Epistle to Geruntius. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. lxxxix. col. 90.)

¹ Canon VI. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθες ἐστίν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα

Even a century later, at the death of Pope Innocent I. (A.D. 417), within a few years of the period when all intercourse ceased for generations between the Christians of Britain and the South of Europe, the Bishop of Rome, though exercising great influence throughout the West, possessed patriarchal rights only over the 'suburbicarian' provinces; that is, all Italy south of the rivers Œsis and Macra, together with the adjacent islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.¹

Whether the British Church was represented at Nicæa cannot be satisfactorily decided affirmatively or negatively. The language of S. Athanasius² seems to indicate the personal presence of British bishops, while the connection of Constantine with Britain would *à priori* lead us to expect that his comprehensive and pressing invitation³ would be ac-

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Nicæa.

σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.—*Mansi Concil.* ii. col. 669, 672. For the opening words of this Canon, Paschasius, the legate of the Bishop of Rome, endeavoured at Chalcedon to substitute the words, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία Ῥώμης πάντοτε ἔσχε τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχει τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡ Αἰγύπτος, ὥστε, &c. Into the Latin copies of the same Canon 'Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum' has been interpolated, at first not improbably intended to be an explanatory paraphrase of the original words.—Routh, *Script. Eccl. Opuscula*, pp. 434, 438.

¹ Bingham, *Antiq.* ix. ch. i. sect. 9.

² Ταύτην δὲ (πίστιν) οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες ὁμολόγησαι πατέρες· καὶ ταύτῃ σύμψηφοι τυγχάνουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τόπον Ἐκκλησίαι, αἳ τε κατὰ τὴν Στανίαν καὶ Βρετανίαν καὶ Γαλλίας, . . . καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς Ἐκκλησίαι, παρέξ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦντων. Ἀπάντων γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ πείρα ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ γράμματα ἔχομεν.—*Epist. ad Jovian. Imp.* (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xxvi. col. 816, 817).

³ Εἰθ' ὥσπερ ἐπιστρατεύων αὐτῷ, θεοῦ φάλαγγα σύνδοδον οἰκουμενικὴν

cepted and acted upon. Moreover, in an Epistle of Constantine, referred to by Eusebius and preserved in a Syriac form, one of the reasons assigned for Nicæa as the place of meeting is, 'because the bishops of Italy and of the rest of the countries of Europe are coming.'¹ Another corroborative coincidence is the fact, that in the Syriac list of the bishops present there are only 220 names out of the traditionary number of 318, and the explanation assigned therein for the deficiency is, that the names of the Western bishops were not written.² On the negative side, the decrees of Nicæa are said to have been sent to the West, including the Churches of the nations that live still farther, even close to the ocean, by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, through the Roman presbyters Victor and Vincentius;³ and Eusebius, speaking of the representation of Europe at the Council, specifies

συνεκρότει, σπεύδειν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς προκαλούμενος. Οὐκ ἦν θ' ἀπλοῦν τὸ ἐπίταγμα, συνήργει δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ πράξει τὸ βασιλέως νεῦμα, οἷς μὲν ἐξουσίαν δημοσίου παρέχον δρόμου, οἷς δὲ νατοφόρων ὑπηρεσίας ἀφθόγους. . . . Ὡς οὖν ἐφοίτα πανταχοῦ τὸ παράγγελμα, οἷά τινος ἀπὸ νύσσης οἱ πάντες ἔθεον σὺν προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ. Eusebius, *Vit. Constantini*, iii. 6 (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xx. col. 1060).

¹ *Analecta Nicæna*, by B. Harris Cowper, p. 18 (London and Edinburgh, 1857).

² *Ibid.* p. 1.

³ "Ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως Κουρδούβης τοῖς κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ Σπανίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν πάσαν, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι, τοῖς ἐπέκεινα κατ' ἐμὲ οὖσιν, ἕως τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ, ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαις, διὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων Ῥώμης Βίτωνος καὶ Βικεντίου.—Gelas. *Cyzic. List. Conc. Nicæni*, lib. ii. cap. xxvii. (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. lxxxv. col. 1309).

Spain as the Western extreme, mentioning neither Gaul nor Britain.¹ It might also be urged, if any trust could be put in the accuracy of Geoffrey of Monmouth in details of facts and dates, as confirmatory and explanatory of this absence of British bishops, that about that time a great part of the island was in open revolt, under Octavius (Eudav), against Rome.² Unfortunately, whether Geoffrey's sources of information be the Roman writers he had consulted, or the current traditions he had heard from the Welsh, he so distorts and amplifies them as to render them historically valueless.

A like uncertainty prevails as to the presence of British representatives at the Council of Sardica in A.D. 347. The lists now extant Council of
Sardica. contain the names of none from Britain,³ nor do the words of S. Athanasius, when upon two occasions he speaks of more than 300 or 400 joining that Council from Britain and other places, necessarily imply anything more than that they subsequently signified their concurrence with the action of the Council in acquitting him.⁴ It would not be ingenuous to omit the

¹ Ἄλλὰ καὶ Θράκες καὶ Μακεδόνες, Ἀχαιοὶ τε καὶ Ἑπειῶται, τούτων θ' οἱ ἔτι πορρωτάτω οἰκοῦντες, ἀπήντων· αὐτῶν τε Σπάνων ὁ πᾶνυ βοώμενος, εἷς ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅμα συνεδρεύων.—Eusebius, *Vit. Constantini*, iii. 6 (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xx. col. 1061).

² V. 8.

³ *Mansi Concilia*, tom. iii. col. 38–50.

⁴ Καὶ τρίτον ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Σαρδίκῃ συναχθείσῃ κατὰ

acknowledgment that, if British bishops were present at Sardica, they must have given their adhesion to Canons 3, 4, and 5, which committed to the Roman Bishop the power, not indeed of deciding on appeal, but of determining whether a judgment should be reconsidered, and, if he should determine in the affirmative, of ordering a provincial synod to hear or rehear the cause.¹ Care, however, was taken to limit the power thus conferred upon Rome by a clause, which indicated that it was a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement and not of Divine appointment. This appeal to Rome, however, was successfully disclaimed by the African Bishops in A.D. 418,² while the Easterns never placed the Sardican canons in their Codex.³ Practically, the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, in the second of its canons, by giving to provincial synods complete authority in ecclesiastical local matters, withdrew this power of

πρόσταξιν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Κώνσταντος· ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καθηρέθησαν ὡς συκοφάνται, τοῖς δὲ κριθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνεψηφίσαντο μὲν ἐπίσκοποι πλείους τριακυσίων, ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν Αἰγύπτου, . . . Γαλλιῶν, Βρεττανιῶν.—*Apologia contra Arianos*. (Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. xxv. col. 249.) Εἵτα βλέποντες τὴν πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον τῶν ἐπισκόπων συμφωνίαν τε καὶ εἰρήνην, πλείους δὲ ἦσαν ὕ', ἀπὸ τε τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης, . . . τοὺς τε ἀπὸ Γαλλιῶν, καὶ Βρεττανίας, καὶ Σπανιῶν, μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Ὁσίου . . . ταῦτα βλέποντες ἐκεῖνοι φθόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ συνεσχέθησαν.—*Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, 28. (*Ibid.* col. 725.)

¹ *Mansi Concilia*, tom. iii. col. 8, 9.

² Fleury, *E. H.* xxiv. 6. (Eng. Tr.)

³ De Marca, *De Concord.* vii. 4.

appealing to the Pope, and restored the ancient rights.¹

A large number of British bishops attended the Council at Rimini (A.D. 359), and, in common with the rest of the episcopate there present, were deceived and frightened into signing an am-
Council of Rimini.
 biguously-worded Creed, from which the term *ὁμοούσιος* was carefully excluded. No trouble or expense had been spared by the Arian Emperor, Constantius, to secure the abrogation of the Nicene decision. Officers had been sent through Illyrium, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, including Britain, to summon and to compel the bishops to be present, while the Prefect Taurus was enjoined and encouraged by the promise of advancement not to permit the Council to be dissolved until they had come to an agreement. When, however, the bishops, released from constraint, returned home, they protested against the violence to which they had been subjected.

There is indisputable evidence that throughout the long and fierce struggle for the truth of Christ's Divinity the British Christians clung with unflinching loyalty to the great confession of Nicæa. Directly

¹ Can. 2. Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους, ταῖς ὑπερορίαις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας . . . Ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις, ἥ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς· φυλαττομένου δὲ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων κανόνος, εὐδηλον ὡς τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἢ τῆς ἐπαρχίας σύνοδος διοικήσει, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὡρισμένα.—*Mansi Concilia*, tom. iii. col. 560.

and indirectly their sympathies, with the one notable exception at Rimini, when ‘the whole world groaned and was amazed to find itself Arian,’ were unquestionably orthodox. S. Athanasius dwells, with evident satisfaction and consciousness of the great weight due to her judgment, upon the soundness of the British Church in the Faith.¹ S. Hilary, writing in A.D. 358 from Phrygia, where he was an exile, congratulates his dearest and most blessed brothers and co-bishops of Germany . . . and of the British provinces, that they stood firmly uncontaminated and uninjured by all the contagion of the detestable (Arian) heresy.²

¹ Vide supra. The wild declamation of Gildas is contradicted by the sober and earlier testimony of Sozomen, and by the explicit official statement of the Synod of Aquileia, A.D. 381. ‘Ο δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροτεύων, καὶ οἱ ἀνὰ τὴν δύσιν ἱερεῖς, ὕβριν οἰκείαν ταῦτα ἡγοῦντο. Ἐφ’ ἅπασιν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεληλυθότων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐπαυέσαντες, εἰσέτι νῦν οὐ διέλιπον ᾧδε φρονοῦντες. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. cap. vii. (Migne, tom. lxxvii. col. 1049.) ‘Ἡ μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Δύσιν Ἐκκλησία καθαρῶς διὰ τῶν πατρῶν ἰθυνομένη δογματῶν, ἐριδός τε καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τερθρείας ἀπήλλακτο.—*Ibid.* iii. cap. xiii. (Migne, tom. lxxvii. col. 1065.) ‘Et quidem per occidentales partes duobus in angulis tantum, hoc est in lætere Daciæ Ripensis ac Mæsiæ, fidei obstrepi videbatur; per omnes autem tractus atque regiones, a Suecorum claustris usque ad Oceanum, manet intemerata fidelium atque una communio.’—*Mansi Concilia*, tom. iii. col. 623.

² ‘Dilectissimis et beatissimis fratribus et co-episcopis provinciæ Germaniæ Primæ, . . . et provinciarum Britanniarum Episcopis, Hilarius servus Christi in Deo et Domino nostro æternam salutem. . . . Beatæ fidei vestræ literis sumptis . . . gratulatus sum in Domino incontaminatos vos et illæsos ab omni contagio detestandæ hæreseos perstitisse.’—*De Synodis*, Prolog. et § 2. (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. x. col. 479, 481.)

Even the hesitation which the British bishops felt respecting the use of the epithet *ὁμοούσιος*,¹ shows their praiseworthy jealousy in behalf of the honour of our Incarnate God. Arianism was willing to ascribe to the Son all the attributes of Almighty God, save His incommunicable nature or being (*οὐσία*); but then it was this alone which could give Him a right to the prerogatives of Divinity in a real and literal sense. Hence, to express their full belief in Christ's essential unity with the Father, the Nicene bishops adopted the term *ὁμοούσιος*, declaring thereby that our Lord shared in the absolute self-existing Individuality of God.² The term had already been used to distinguish

¹ There would be little or no point in Hilary's *Tract. de Synodis*, unless we assume that there was, or at least that there had been, on the part of the Churches to whose bishops he writes, a certain distrust of the Nicene phraseology. This feeling he endeavours to remove, successfully, for it died away, by paraphrasing in Latin equivalents and drawing out into propositions the pregnant Greek terms of the Creed of Nicæa, thus showing that they were only the legitimate expression of the orthodox doctrine which implicitly the Western Church had always held. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. 13. "Ετυχε γὰρ πρότερος ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπανελθὼν, Ἰταλοὺς τε καὶ Γάλλους διδάξας, ποία μὲν χρῆ τῶν δογμάτων προσίσθαι, ποία δὲ φεύγειν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐλόγιμος τῇ Ῥωμαίων γλώττῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγους ἀξιοχρέους, ὡς εἴρηται, συνέγραψεν, ἀπομαχομένους τοῖς Ἀρείου δόγμασιν. Ὡδε μὲν Ἰλάριος οὗτος καὶ Εὐσέβιος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς δύοσιν ἀρχομένη τὸ δόγμα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου συνεκρότου.—(Migne, *Series Græca*, tom. lxxvii. col. 1253.)

² Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ Ἀρείον πρὸ χρόνων μὲν εἶναι τὸν Τίδν ἔλεγον, πεποιῆσθαι μέντοι, καὶ ἓνα τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκον, καὶ τὸ, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐχ ὡς Τίδν ἐκ Πατρὸς γνήσιον, ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ κτίσματα· οὕτω καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι διεβεβαιούτο· τὴν τε τῆς ὁμώσεως ἐνότητα τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα οὐκ ἔλεγον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔστιν Τίδς ὅμοιος Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν

our Lord's origin from that of any created substance ; but when the Manicheans made use of it to set forth the material identity of the soul of man with God, and Paul of Samosata afterwards, in accord with this Manichean material meaning, grounded upon it his argument that Christ was in time subsequent to the Father, the term was condemned at the Council of Antioch.¹ Thus discredited, it was not unnatural that, before the decision of the Universal Church had vindicated its sound meaning, the term should for a time assume in the minds of the Western bishops a suspicious look, and that the British Christians should be afraid, lest unwittingly they should by its adoption appear to countenance language and opinions which the fathers at Antioch had already condemned.²

συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας· . . . τοῦτου χάριν οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες, . . . εἰ-ήκασιν τὸ ὁμοούσιον· ἵνα καὶ τὸ γνήσιον ἀληθῶς ἐκ τοῦτου γνωσθῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν κοινὸν ἔχῃ πρὸς τοῦτον τὰ γεννητά. —Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 45. (Migne, tom. xxvi. col. 773.)

¹ Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαμοσατέα καθελόντες, σωματικῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντες τὸ ὁμοούσιον, τοῦ Παύλου σοφίζεσθαι τε θέλοντος καὶ λέγοντος, Εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς Θεὸς, οὐκοῦν ὁμοούσιός ἐστι τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη τρεῖς οὐσίας εἶναι, μίαν μὲν προηγουμένην, τὰς δὲ δύο ἐξ ἐκείνης· διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκότως εὐλαβηθέντες τὸ τοιοῦτον σόφισμα τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, εἰρήκασιν μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοούσιον· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ οὕτως ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνόει.—*Id.*, *De Synodis*, 45. (Migne, *Serics Græca*, tom. xxvi. col. 772.)

² The justification which S. Athanasius offers in behalf of the bishops who at Antioch rejected the term ὁμοούσιον, applies with equal force to the hesitation of the British Christians before they were assured of the *communis consensus* of the Church. Εἴπερ οὖν μέμφεται τις τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθοῦσιν, ὡς εἰρηκόσι παρὰ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, ὁ αὐτὸς μέμψαιτ' ἂν εἰκότως καὶ τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα (at Antioch), ὅτι μὴ τὰ

CHAPTER III.

'Picti vero prius per sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte, postea per sanctos Kentigernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt.'—V. S. KENTIGERNI, xxvii.

'Secundus ordo Catholicorum presbyterorum . . . A Davide episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt.'—CATAL. SS. HIBERN.

THE DISTRICT lying between the wall of Antoninus on the north and the chain of stone forts built along the line of Hadrian's dyke on the south, had at length been reduced, in the time of ^{The North Britons.} Valentinian, into a Roman province, under the name of Valentia. The inhabitants were British, but in their continued warfare with the Romans the original kinship had been forgotten, or, if remembered, had only intensified their hatred of their southern relations. The ferocity of these North Britons was spoken of throughout the Roman world, and usages most repulsive and cruel were laid to their charge.

τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐφύλαξαν. . . . Ἄλλ' οὔτε τούτους οὔτε ἐκείνους ὅσιον αἰτιάσασθαι· πάντες γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον τὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάντες σπουδὴν ἐσχήκασιν κατὰ τῶν Αἰρετικῶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν Σαμοσατέα, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν κατέκριναν. Ὅρθῳς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι κακέينوι, καὶ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν γεγράφασι. . . . καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκάστη σύνοδος εὐλογον ἔχει, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν οὕτως, οἱ δὲ οὕτως εἰρήκασιν. *De Synodis*, 45. (Migne, tom. xxvi. col. 772, 773.)

It was about the time that the Romans were struggling to restrain the incursions of these people that the British Church succeeded in establishing an outpost of Christianity, from which she was never altogether dislodged, on one of the most western headlands of modern Scotland. Although no authentic details of the history of this mission remain, yet a clear idea of its importance and of the character of its work is gained on comparing the records which have been preserved. Bæda describes S. Ninian as a S. Ninian. most revered bishop and holy man of the British nation, who, having been instructed at Rome in the Faith and Mysteries of the Truth, founded an Episcopal see among the Southern Picts. The cathedral church he dedicated to S. Martin of Tours, and the circumstance that it was built of stone, a feature until then unusual in Britain, gave to the locality the name of Candida Casa or Whithern.¹ The Irish martyrologies testify to the reverence in which the memory of S. Ninian was gratefully held. The 'Martyrology' of Tallagh has, on September 16, 'monenn,' that is, 'Nen,' with the pronoun 'mo' as an honorary prefix,² 'of Cluain Conaire.' The 'Mar-

¹ Bæda, *E. H.* iii. 4.

² Irish ecclesiastical writers had two modes of expressing their reverence for a particular saint. The first was by adding to the original form of his name the diminutive suffix *og*. The second was by prefixing to the name the pronoun *mo* (my). Sometimes, as in the case

tyrology' of Denegal adds, 'in the north of Ui Faelain,' now in the county of Kildare. Ængus the Culdee calls him 'Moinend nuall cech genai,' Moinend the shout of every mouth.¹ It is, however, to Ailred, a monk of Rievaulx, that we are indebted for an account of the specially characteristic features which constitute the Life of S. Ninian.² Written seven hundred years after the death of its subject, the Memoir would be of little value, were it not for the biographer's important admission that he had consulted an older 'Life.'³ In harmony with the prevailing tone of the twelfth century, Ailred expands the journey to Rome, giving expression to what the age would suppose to be the natural sentiment of S. Ninian towards the Roman See,⁴ and mentions

of Moedoc, both modes are combined. This usage gave rise to almost endless varieties of the same name. For instance, the original form of Moedoc's name was Aedh, recurring also as Aeda, Aidus, Aiduus, Æduus, Edus, Hugh. With the diminutive Irish ending *og*, Aedh became Aedh-og; this modification led to the adoption of corresponding Latin diminutive forms,—Aedan, Aedanus, Aidanus, and Edanus. Again, the honorific Irish prefix *mo*, making the name Moedoc, introduced further varieties,—Maidoc, Maedoc, Moedoc, Modoc, Moedog, Mogue, and Moeg.

¹ Quoted by Bishop Forbes in *Kalendar of Scot.* SS. p. 22.

² *Vita Niniani, Pictorum Australium Apostoli, auctore Ailredo Rievallensi.* It is printed in Pinkerton's *V. SS. Scot.* pp. 1-23, and, abridged, in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* fol. 241.

³ 'Verum quod ipse breviter, prout historię suę tenor postulare videbatur, tantum tetigisse videtur, nobis liber de Vita et miraculis ejus, barbaro scriptus, latius exequendum proponit.'—*V. S. Niniani*, Præfatio, p. 3.

⁴ 'Et ubi fides Petri nisi in sede Petri? Illuc certe, illuc mihi

several miracles of the usual mediæval type wrought by his relics. Such incidents as the parentage of S. Ninian, the place of his birth, his interview and intimacy with S. Martin, the foreign help he received in erecting his church, the date of its completion, and his own habits and holiness of life, are implied in Bæda's general summary, and as they would be locally known and remembered, they may be regarded as authentic. According to Ailred, S. Ninian was of regal birth, the son of a British king in Cumbria.¹ Brought up in the Faith, for his father was a Christian, he left his country and his kindred and went to Rome, where the Pope, acting under Divine inspiration, lovingly received him, and having ordained him to the episcopal office, appointed him to be an apostle to his own people. On his way home he visited S. Martin at Tours, from whom he borrowed masons capable of building a stone church after the Roman fashion. On a promontory in Galwidia or Galloway, enclosed on all sides except to

eundum est ; ut exiens de terra mea, et de cognatione mea, et de domo patris mei, merear in terra visionis videre voluntatem Domini, et protegi a templo ejus.'—*V. S. Niniani*, cap. i. p. 4.

¹ 'Haud ignobili familia Beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus. Pater ejus rex fuit, religione Christianus. In ea, ut putatur, regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insulæ partibus (ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit),' sqq.—*Ibid.* cap. i. p. 3.

the north by the sea, he erected his cathedral,¹ and hearing, just as it was being completed, of the death of S. Martin, he called it after his name. The see disappeared after the death of S. Ninian, but the work which he began, although interrupted and suspended, was never hopelessly abandoned.² S. Serf, S. Kentigern, S. Columba, S. Aidan, S. Finan, S. Colman, Bishops Diuma, Ceollach, Cedda, Transmere of English blood, but ecclesiastically of the Columban or West British succession,—these are some of the links in the chain which extends from S. Ninian to the time of the establishment of the Roman supremacy over the East Saxons by Archbishop Theodore.

In order to obtain an adequate idea of the missionary labours of the British Church, and thus to

¹ 'Eligit autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna dicitur; qui locus super litus Oceani situs, dum seipsum mare longius porrigit ab Oriente, Occidente, atque Meridie, ipso pelago clauditur: a parte tantum Aquilonali via ingredi volentibus tantum aperitur.'—*l. S. Niniani*, iii. p. 7. Bishop Forbes thinks that the spot may be the Isle of Withern, where there is still a chapel in ruins, but not a moulding left to indicate the date of its erection; or, more likely, the town of Withern, some miles inland, where are to be seen the beautiful remains of what was the cathedral of Galloway.—*Kalendars of Scottish SS.* 422.

² The great and permanent influence of S. Ninian appears from the circumstance that Bishop Forbes is able to give a list, which, he says, is by no means exhaustive, of sixty-three districts in which churches were dedicated in his name.—*Ibid.* 424.

be furnished with evidence respecting the fairness or unfairness of the charge, so constantly urged against it, of culpable apathy to the spiritual welfare of the English people, it will be useful to anticipate at this point the missionary work of the sixth century and its important results.

Groundless nature of the charge that the British Church deliberately refrained from any attempt to convert the English to the Faith.

Although the conversion of Ireland through the efforts of S. Patrick and his band of missionaries had

The influence of the British Church, by the creation of the Second Order of Irish Saints, felt throughout the whole of Europe.

been seemingly complete, their work appears to have taken no firm root in the country, and upon their removal Ireland showed signs of again relapsing into Paganism.¹

This partial failure of their labours was probably due to causes identical with those which afterwards proved so disastrous in England to the Roman mission of Augustine, viz., the foreign character of the mission, and its consequent inability to adapt itself to the habits and ideas of the people among whom it laboured. The original strictness and purity of the Irish Church had now given place to a condition of utter disorganisation, which combined a relaxation of discipline with the almost universal prevalence of heretical doctrines. In its distress the Irish Church invoked the aid of the sister Church in Britain. Gildas was sent over, with the sanction and

¹ Vide infra, p. 188.

active sympathy of S. David and S. Cadoc. So successful were his efforts, that a new life was infused into the Irish Church, and thus the names of the British Saints became associated with what was virtually the re-planting of the Faith in Ireland.¹ But the results of the help thus given extended far beyond the limits of that country. The Second Order of Irish Saints, whose ritual and monastic institutions were modelled after the pattern of those of the British Church, by their love of learning, and their intense missionary zeal, raised Ireland to be for centuries one of the great centres of Christian civilisation. So wide-spread was the reputation of Clonard and Bangor that scholars from all lands flocked thither, while from thence there issued a continuous current of missionaries carrying with them their own ecclesiastical usages to almost every country in Europe. From Iceland in the extreme north to Tarentum in the south their activity was everywhere both seen and felt. And their work was of as varied a nature as the scenes of their labour ; combating Arianism in Lombardy and Paganism in North Britain, England, and

¹ 'Tunc Sanctus Gildas munitus clypeo fortitudinis et galea salutis, omnes fines Hibernensium circumivit, et Ecclesias restauravit, clerum universum in fide Catholica et sanctam Trinitatem colerent instruxit. Populos graviter morsibus hæreticorum sauciatos curavit, fraudes hæreticas cum auctoribus suis ab eis longe repulit.'—*V. S. Gildæ*, xii. Mabill. *Actt. SS. Benedict.* i. 133. 'Pene tertia pars vel quarta Hibernie servit David.'—*V. S. David in Cambro-Brit. SS.* 133.

Germany ; rebuking vice at the court of Thierri, the king of Burgundy ; cultivating letters at the court of Charlemagne, and physical science in the see of Salzburg ; and founding at Luxeuil a great school for the study of ancient manuscripts, and at Bobbio a monastery which remained to the present century.

The Church of S. Columba always gratefully recognised the relation, in which, as an outcome of

The missionary labours of the Columban community due indirectly to the British Church.

the missionary zeal of the ' Second Order of Irish Saints,' it stood to the British Church.

The two Churches entering Scotland from different directions, the one under S. Columba from the West, and the other under S. Ninian, and afterwards S. Kentigern, from the South, soon met, and in their sphere of work ran in parallel paths, occasionally overlapping each other. We find, however, no trace of any jealous rivalry ; but, on the contrary, a frequent interchange of Christian fellowship, testifying to their consciousness of identity of interests as well as of the oneness of their communion. It was Rhydderch Hael, the first monarch of Cumbria, a Briton on his father's side, that recalled S. Kentigern from S. Asaph¹ to be Bishop of Glasgow ; and yet the same Rhydderch was, and continued to be, the friend of S. Columba. When the biographer of S. Kentigern refers to the

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 154.

conversion of the Picts, he is careful to observe that it was the joint work of S. Ninian, S. Kentigern, and S. Columba.¹ The journey which S. Columba is said to have made to Glasgow to show his reverence for S. Kentigern may not be historical; the tradition, however, is an indication of the intercommunion which doubtless existed between the two Churches. According to Josceline, the two saints passed several days in intimate and friendly intercourse.² Another annalist describes them as spending six months together at Columba's monastery at Dunkeld, and together preaching the Faith to the Picts of the neighbouring mountains.³ Before they parted, they exchanged their pastoral staffs. The one given by S. Columba to S. Kentigern, inlaid with gold and studded with jewels, was shown as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, preserved in the cathedral church of Ripon.⁴

In the light of these illustrations of the missionary zeal and success of the British Church, its inactivity on the borders of Wales during the sixth century will appear in its true character as an exceptional

¹ 'Picti vero prius per Sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte, postea per sanctos Kentigernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt.'—*P. S. Kentigerni*, xxvii.; Pinkerton's *Vitæ SS. Scot.* 256.

² *Ibid.* cap. xxxix.; Pinkerton's *Vitæ SS. Scot.* 281-283.

³ Hector Boetius, *Hist. Scotorum*, lib. ix.

⁴ Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, iii. 30.

incident due to exceptional causes. From A.D. 550 to 560 Ida, 'the flame-bearer,' was carrying fire and sword through the whole centre of the island; while from A.D. 569 to 582 Ceawlin and Cuthwin were stamping out all that was left of Roman civilisation to the south-east of the Severn. About this time also we should probably date the great battle of Cattraeth in the north, which Aneurin sang.¹

The ferocity of the conquerors may be inferred from the very completeness of their conquest.² Local traditions assert that even in the eighth century, when the relations of the two countries had passed into a more humane phase, any attempt on the part of the Welsh to cross Offa's dyke was punished with the mutilation of the offender.³ Under these circum-

¹ Mr. Williams Ab Ithel assigns to it the date of 570. M. de la Villemarqué places it a few years later, in 578. Mr. D. W. Nash, however, in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1861 (pp. 1-16) identifies the battle of Cattraeth with that of 'Gai Campi' of Nennius and Winwæd of Bæda. This theory takes it of course out of the list of battles fought anterior to the landing of Augustine.

² How great was the terror with which the Britons regarded the English invaders, appears from the effect which, according to a twelfth century tradition, the sound of an English voice produced on the mind of S. Beuno. Returning immediately, he said to his disciples, 'My sons, put on your clothes and your shoes, and let us leave this place, for this man's nation has a strange language, and is abominable, and I heard his voice on the other side of the river; they have invaded this place, and it will be theirs, and they will keep it in their possession.'—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 302.

³ In the eleventh century a law to this effect was for some time in

stances, any special activity of missions in the direction of England during the period which immediately preceded the coming of S. Augustine would be an impossibility. 'No,' the Abbot of Bangor is represented to have replied to S. Augustine, 'we will not preach the Faith to the cruel race of strangers, who have treacherously driven our ancestors from their country and robbed their posterity of their heritage.'¹

In these words, which are but the expression of the feelings of a later generation, stress is laid upon the unwillingness of the British Christians to confer upon their English neighbours the benefit of the Gospel; but it must be obvious, although national pride would be reluctant to confess it, that the English people would have spurned the offer of a purer religion, when pressed upon them by a vanquished and despised race. This explanation, which would ascribe the shrinking of the British Church from any attempt to convert the English nation to the insurmountable difficulties involved in the merciless policy of the invaders, is more in accord with all the circumstances

force. After the merciless subjugation of Wales in 1003 by Harold and his brother Tostig, it was decreed that any armed Welshman found on the English side of the dyke should suffer the loss of his right hand: 'Legem statuit ut quicumque Britonum exinde citra terminum, quem eis præscripsit, fossam scilicet Offæ, cum telo inveniretur, ei ab officialibus regni manus dextra præcideretur.'—Joan. Saresb. vi. 6 (Migne, *Patrologia*, cxcix. col. 599).

¹ *Brut. Tysilio in Myfyr. Archaeology*, vol. ii. 365. Geoffrey of Monmouth, xi. 12.

of the case than the accusation of Bæda, that it proceeded from a spirit of retaliation and revenge.¹ Even S. Columba at Hi, and S. Kentigern in the Strathclyde, were forced, notwithstanding their great love for missionary enterprise, to confine their efforts to the northern part of the island. How readily the former would have availed himself of any opening to convey the light of the Gospel to the South, appears from the circumstance that, at a later period, as soon as a fit opportunity occurred, it was his community which recovered a second time to Christianity the Northumbrians and Mercians. Besides, we find that even in the lifetime of S. Columba there were two Saxon monks called Genereus and Pilu² at Hi, and that one of them was reckoned among S. Columba's special friends.

The necessity of suppressing the Pelagian heresy was productive of renewed intercourse between the Pelagianism. British and Gallican Churches. This heresy was in its origin an outcome of the Antiochene school; and, like the Nestorian heresy, can be traced to the influence of the teaching of Theodore of Antioch, afterwards known as Bishop of Mopsuestia. Ruffinus, a Syrian, who was the first to promulgate at

¹ *E. H.* i. 22; ii. 20. The unfairness of Bæda towards the British Christians manifests itself also in v. 18, 23.

² Adamnan, *V. S. Columbæ*, iii. 10, 22.

Rome its leading idea—a denial of original sin—and who first led Pelagius into heresy, was a pupil and friend of Theodore; and the diocese of Mopsuestia became the rallying centre of its adherents.¹ The denial of the hypostatic union in Christ led to, and was bound up with, the denial of the moral union of grace and freedom in the actions of the regenerate will. Nestorius objected not to the acceptance of the completeness of Christ's Divinity, provided there was a distinct separation between the constituent parts of His being; so Pelagius would not deny a place to the work of grace in the soul, provided it were kept distinctly separate from the first independent impulse to goodness, which should be ascribed to the unaided effort of the human will. Pelagianism, therefore, was but the transfer of the heresy which would rend Christ asunder and divide Him into two persons into another province—that of the relations of grace and free will in man.² This fundamentally

¹ Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* xxiii. 1, 28; xxiv. 55; xxvii. 36.

² 'Even the ancients justly observed the inner connection between the Christology and the anthropology of the Antiochian School, and the affinity grounded on this circumstance between Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Vid. *Phot. Cod.* 54, which is an extract from an ancient writing against Pelagianism and Nestorianism belonging to the early times of the sixth century, wherein it is said: Οἱ μὲν (the Pelagians) περὶ τῶν μέλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποθρασύνονται (they attribute too much to the man, to the free will in believers), οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ σώματος κεφαλῆς, τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν διανοίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχουσι. On the other side, as for instance in the case of Augustin, his op-

erroneous conception of Pelagius developed itself, so far as can be gathered from fragments of his writings, preserved in the quotations of S. Augustine and S. Jerome, and from charges urged against Cœlestius at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 412), into the following propositions:—That the sin of Adam affected him alone, and not all mankind; that man can by his free will choose good as well as evil, and that everyone therefore can secure future happiness ('salus' or 'vita æterna'), but that a still higher happiness ('regnum cœlorum') is offered to men by Christianity, to the benefit of which baptism is a necessary condition; that by divine grace should be understood the many new motives to moral efforts, bestowed on men through the teaching and example of Christ, enabling them to gain the mastery over the impulses of sense and the allurements of sin, but that the first beginning of renewal lies with the man himself, in the firm resolve to be virtuous; and that God's predestination therefore is grounded entirely on his foreknowledge of human actions.

posite views of anthropology stood in connection with his opposite Christological notions. Thus he adduced the mode of union between the Divinity and humanity in Christ, in proof of the assertion, that the operations of divine grace could not be conditioned on the merit of the human will. "Neque enim et ipse ita verbo Dei conjunctus, ut ipsa conjunctione unus Filius Dei et idem ipse unus filius hominis fieret, præcedentibus suæ voluntatis meritis fecit." Augustin, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, l. ii. s. 27.—Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 111, n. (Bohn).

These heretical notions found a wide acceptance in Britain owing to the nationality¹ as well as the personal holiness² of Pelagius, and to an exaggerated idea of the human will, which the Bardo-Druids had taught,³ and which still survived. In the face of this danger, the British Church appealed to the Gallican bishops for aid. A synod

S. Germanus. First visit

¹ 'Pelagium, quem credimus, ut ab illo distingueretur qui Pelagius Tarenti dicitur, Britonem fuisse cognominatum.'—Augustin. *Epist.* 186, cap. i., *Ad Paulinum* (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxxiii. col. 816). 'Britannicus noster (Pelagius).' Orosius, *De Arbit. lib.* (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxxi. col. 1182). 'Pelagius Brito.' Prosp. *Aquit. Chron. in anno 416.*

'Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus.'

Ibid. *De Ingratis*, Pars Prima. 1, 2 (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. ii. col. 94).

Jerome, however, in his *Prol. ad prim. et tert. comment. in Jerem.* (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. xxiv. col. 682) describes Pelagius as 'Scotorum peltibus prægravatus.' Some think that Coelestius was here meant by Jerome. Neander's explanation seems the more probable one, that it is a confusion of names on the part of Jerome, for that the North Britons and the Scots were not always very carefully distinguished.—*Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 313, n. (Bohn).

² S. Augustine testifies repeatedly to the fact that Pelagius by his holiness of life had acquired universal respect. 'Legi Pelagii quædam scripta viri ut audio sancti, et non parvo propectu Christiani.' *De peccator. meritis et remiss.* iii. 1. (Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xlv. 185.) 'Verumtamen nos non negligenter oportet attendere, istum, sicut cum qui noverunt, loquuntur, bonum ac prædicandum virum . . . Ille tam egregie Christianus . . . Attende, obsecro te, quemadmodum circumspectus vir Pelagius . . . sensit.' *Ibid.* iii. 3, 10. (Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xlv. 188, 189, 196.) S. Augustine writes to him as 'Domino dilectissimo et desideratissimo fratri Pelagio,' and he afterwards justifies the warmth of this language, 'Nam nos et non solum dileximus, verum etiam diligimus eum.'—*Epist.* cxlvii, clxxxvi. (Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xxxiii. 596, 816).

³ Williams Ab Ithel, *Antiq. of Cymry*, p. 101.

was held, and Germanus (Garmon), Bishop of Auxerre,¹ and Lupus (Bleiddyn), Bishop of Troyes,² already known for his moral victory over Attila, were deputed to cross over to Britain to confute the heretics. This is the version of the story given by Constantius,³ himself a Gallican and a contemporary of Germanus. But in the account by Prosper Aquitanus, written within twenty-six years of the date of the incident, who at the time was at Rome, no mention is made of the application to the Gallican bishops, but the mission is ascribed to the influence of Palladius with Pope Cœlestine.⁴ The two narra-

¹ According to the 'Welsh Genealogies,' S. Germanus was the son of Rhedyw (Rhedygus, Redicus, Redgitus, or Rusticus), and therefore closely allied to the Britons by ties of race and language. Such a relationship would of course conduce to the success of the mission and render S. Germanus eminently fitted for the work. The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius is printed in the *Actt. SS.* July 31, vii. 201. Bæda's narrative of the anti-Pelagian missions is entirely derived from this life.

² There are two Lives of Lupus printed in the *Actt. SS.* July 29, vii. 69 and 72. The first Life is supposed to have been written about the middle of the sixth century; the second about A.D. 889. The latter is only an enlargement of Bæda's account, that is, of that portion of Constantius' Life of S. Germanus which relates to Britain.

³ 'Eodem tempore ex Britannicis directa legatio Gallicanis Episcopis nuntiavit, Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis late populos occupasse, et quamprimum fidei catholicæ debere succurri. Ob quam causam synodus numerosa collecta est; omniumque judicio, duo præclara religionis lumina universorum precibus ambiuntur, Germanus et Lupus, apostolici sacerdotes, &c.'—*V. S. Germani*, lib. I. cap v. in *Actt. SS.* July 31, vii. 211.

⁴ 'Florentio et Dionysio Coss. Ad actionem Palladii diaconi Papa Cœlestinus Germanum Antisiodorensem Episcopum vice sua mittit, et

tives may be reconciled, if we suppose that each of the two writers confined his attention to that portion of the transaction which had local interest for himself. It is not at all unlikely, when the Gallican synod had entrusted the mission to the care of the two bishops, that S. Germanus should employ Palladius to obtain the further sanction and blessing of the Bishop of Rome. This explanation, which would ascribe the initiative step to the Gallican bishops, removes the

deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit.' *Chron. sub anno 433* (Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xxvii. 717, 718). The genuineness of the paragraph has been questioned, but upon no sufficient grounds. There are two editions of this Chronicle of Prosper, one corrupt and interpolated, published by Pet. Pithou, Paris, 1588; and by Labbe apud Bibliothecam Novam MSS. tom. i. p. 96, Paris, 1657. The other edition is usually found as 'Ad Eusebio-Hieronymianum Chronico-Appendix.' The paragraph quoted, as well as the one relating to the appointment by Pope Coelestine of Palladius to be the first bishop of the Scoti (vide infra), are only found in the last named edition. When Bæda, therefore, although he undoubtedly had the Chronicle before him, makes no mention of the circumstance that it was Coelestine who sent S. Germanus to Britain as his representative, Stillingfleet (*Antiq.* ch. iv. ; *Wks.* iii. 115 sq.) would infer from this omission that the statement was not in the Chronicle as it existed in the time of Bæda, but that it is an interpolation of a later age, inserted to convey an impression of the watchful care and great spiritual power of the Bishop of Rome. This inference, however, cannot be sustained, for notwithstanding the silence of Constantius and Bæda, Prosper in another work of unquestioned genuineness alludes again to the credit due to Pope Coelestine in connection with the refutation of Pelagianism in Britain. 'Nec vero signiore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit . . . et ordinato Scotis Episcopo (scilicet Palladio) (Pontifex Coelestinus) dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.' *Cont. Collat.* xxi. (Migne, *Patrol.* li. col. 271.)

force of the argument that the mission must have been entirely independent of Rome, inasmuch as the Pope was at the time unfriendly to the Gallican Church on account of its supposed tendency to semi-Pelagianism, and therefore would hardly send deputies from thence. SS. Germanus and Lupus crossed the Channel in the winter of 429; and Bæda represents the demons, in their jealousy that men so distinguished should be sent for the recovery of the Faith, raising storms, and with clouds shrouding the sky in the darkness of night; but the elder bishop, on being awakened by his companions, sprinkled a little water in the name of the Holy Trinity, and thus quelled the angry waves.¹ When they landed, preaching not only in churches, but even in cross-roads and the open country, they were most successful in their work of confirming the faithful and reclaiming those who had wandered from the truth. At first, the Pelagian teachers shrank from encountering the two bishops; when at last, grieving that the people were escaping

¹ *Ecc. Hist.* i. 20. This storm and the subsequent miraculous calm were traditionally known as far North as Hi. Adamnan, in describing similar incidents in the Life of S. Columba, tells us that they reminded him of what had happened before in the case of S. Germanus. ‘Sic enim aliquando dæmoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo de Sinu Gallico, causa humanæ salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti, medio in æquore occurrerant, et opposcentes pericula procellas concitabant, cœlum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quæ tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata detera cessarunt caligine.’ Adamnan, *V. S. Columbæ*, lib. ii. c. xxxv.

out of their hands, they ventured upon a public disputation, the issue was a triumphant vindication of the Faith. The favourable impression thus produced was deepened by S. Germanus giving sight to the blind daughter of a tribune. The heresy was in this manner so thoroughly effaced from the minds of all that, with hearts athirst for the truth, they embraced the doctrine of the Gallican missionaries.

But S. Germanus, who had been a soldier in his youth, was to gain for the Britons a triumph over carnal as well as invisible enemies. The scene of the incident is described as a valley ^{Battle of the Hallelujah.} surrounded by hills, with a river winding through it. It was the sacred season of Lent; a great portion of the British army had just been baptised, and a wattled church built for the Easter festival. Local traditions identify the spot as the Vale of Mold, and Llanarmon-in-Iâl as the site of the wattled church. To this point the Saxons and Picts,¹ leagued together, had advanced, not doubting their success, against an

¹ It seems probable that the North Britons alone were present, and that Constantius, writing some years after, when the Saxons had become more formidable than the Scoti, wrote confusedly Saxons for Scots (Innes' *Civ. and Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, p. 49). Ussher, however (*Antiq.* xi., *Wks.* v. p. 385), defends the reading on the ground that there were Saxon marauders before the time of Hengist. We certainly find that the Romans had found it necessary during the last years of their stay in Britain to appoint an officer, under the title of 'comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam,' whose duty it was to watch the motions of the English. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi.

unarmed multitude ; but S. Germanus, not inattentive to the defensive capabilities of the place, set a body of men in ambush, and instructed them all at a given signal to raise three times the cry of Hallelujah. The Pagans advancing in disorder were struck with a panic, and fled in dismay. In the confusion, many of them were swallowed up by the river, over which they had crossed.¹

The first mission lasted about two years. In A.D. 447, S. Germanus came a second time to Britain, together with Severus, Archbishop of Treves, to assist in repressing the same heresy, which was again being spread abroad. They found that the people had remained faithful, and that but a small number had been led astray. Of the legendary traditions connected with this second visit one preserved by Nennius should be noticed as illustrative of the character of S. Germanus. When the guilty Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn) fled with his wives, first to the mountain recesses of North Wales, and then to South Wales, S. Germanus followed him with the British clergy, and upon a rock entreated God during forty

¹ Fuller, following Ussher, says ‘the pious bishop, turning politic engineer, chose a place of advantage near the village called at this day by the English Mold, by the British Guid-cruc, in Flintshire, where the field at this day retains the name of Maes-Garmon.’—*Ch. Hist.* i. p. 83 (Oxford, 1845). In Leland’s time pilgrimages were still made to the church of Llanarmon-in-Iâl on the vigil of S. Egidius, and costly gifts offered.—Pennant’s *Tour in Wales*, i. 380.

days and forty nights to pardon the king's sins. Again, when Vortigern betook himself to a castle which he had built on the river Towy, the saint, according to his usual custom, followed him thither, and with his clergy fasted and prayed to the Lord three days and as many nights, and it was only on the continued impenitence of the king that fire is said to have fallen suddenly from heaven, consuming the castle and destroying all its miserable occupants.¹

The great honour in which the British Church held the memory of S. Germanus led subsequent ages to say that he was the founder of the monastic institutions of Llancarvan and Llanilltyd, and that he appointed Illtud to be the head, and Lupus to be the bishop of the last-named college.² The consecration of S. Dubricius is also represented to be his work.³ This association of the name of S. Germanus with objects outside the province of his mission is irreconcilable with the shortness of his stay on both occasions in the island, and must be rejected as destitute of historical and chronological coherence. After making, however, due deductions on the score of legendary imagination, there can be no doubt that the influence of S. Ger-

Influence of S. Germanus on the subsequent history of the British Church.

¹ *Historia Britonum*, l. (M. H. B. 70.)

² Achau y Saint, in *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 161.

³ *Lib. Landav.* pp. 66, and (Appendix) 277.

manus powerfully affected the ecclesiastical future of the British Church. Considering that it was the want of learning on the part of the British clergy which gave a temporary advantage to the followers of Pelagius, and necessitated the sending for external help, and that the Gallican monasteries were at this time eminently distinguished for their knowledge and cultivation of literature, we can well imagine that S. Germanus would advise the establishment of such institutions as those which were afterwards founded at Llancarvan and Llanilltyd. This would account for the origin of the legend which made him to be the founder of these monastic schools. There are churches dedicated to S. Germanus in both Cornwall and Wales.¹ They are among the earliest, if not the earliest instances in Britain of parish churches.² Hitherto the work of evangelisation seems to have been entirely carried on from certain centres, from which the clergy went forth to preach, and whither they returned to live in common, and to impart by their presence greater solemnity to the higher offices

¹ Llanarmon-in-Iâl, Denbighshire; Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, ditto; S. Harmon's, Radnorshire; and Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire. The chapels are the following: Llanarmon under Llangybi, Carnarvonshire; Bettws Garmon under Llanfair Isgaer, ditto; Capel Garmon under Llanrwst, Denbighshire; and Llanarmon-Fach under Llandegfan, ditto. The ancient cathedral of the Cornish Britons, as well as that in the Isle of Man, also Germansweek in Devonshire, were dedicated in his name: Selby Abbey in the joint names of SS. Mary and Germanus.

² Rees, *Welsh SS.* p. 131.

of religion. On the Continent, however, an organisation of a more parochial character was now beginning to develop itself.¹ This circumstance, combined with the new character of the churches of the foundation of S. Germanus, suggests the idea, that at this time, owing to the foreign experience and wider knowledge of the Gallican bishops, country churches for permanent use began to be erected, without however superseding for some centuries the old central system.

Pelagianism seems to have been so thoroughly uprooted by the second mission that it never revived again in Britain. After an interval of more than a century, two synods are said to have been held, one at Llanddewi-Brefi, in the neighbourhood of the old Roman town of Loventium, shortly before A.D. 569; the other, for the synod of Lucus Victoriæ, in A.D. 569,² was probably but a continuation of that of Llanddewi-Brefi, at Caerleon-on-Usk, in A.D. 601.³ These synods are doubtless historical, but the further information that the object at Llanddewi-Brefi and Lucus Victoriæ was the condemnation of Pelagianism, and that this was effected by the

Synods of
Llanddewi
Brefi and
Lucus
Victoriæ.

¹ Bingham, *Antiq.* ix. 8, 1. 3; *Cambro-Brit.* SS. 136, sqq.

² 'CXXV Annus. Synodus Victoriæ apud Britones congregatur.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 831.)

³ 'CLVII Annus. Synodus Urbis Legion. . . . David Episcopus Moni Judeorum.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 831.) 'Synodus Urbis Legionum ordinata a S. David Menevensi Archiepiscopo.'—*Ann. Menev.* (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 643.)

aid of S. David, rests upon the sole authority of Rhyddmarch, writing 500 years afterwards, and in possession of no written record of the synod. This distrust of the authenticity of the biographer's account is increased on comparing it with Breton documents,¹ which represent the proceedings at the two last-mentioned places as solely concerned with the regulation of the morals of the clergy.

Our knowledge of the internal history of the British Church during the interval from the departure of S. Germanus to the landing of S. Augustine is very scanty. Such information, however, as we have is derived for the most part from the modicum of truth contained in the 'Lives of the Saints' and the Welsh Genealogies. Overlaid as the Lives are with fables and errors, the light they throw upon the lawlessness and violence which prevailed outside the influence of religion, and upon the peculiar characteristics of British Christianity as illustrated in the doings and sayings of its most prominent representatives, is invaluable. Even the supernatural element, which enters so largely into their composition, proceeded from a vivid realisation, partly by the saint himself and partly by his monastic biographer, of the immanence of God in creation, and of the intense enmity to man of the

The lives of
the Saints,
and the
Welsh
Genealogies;
their bearing
upon the
early history
of the British
Church.

¹ Printed in the *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 117, 118.

‘powers of darkness.’ The number also of ecclesiastical usages belonging to the British Church of which, were it not for incidental notices of them in the ‘Lives of the Saints,’ we should have been ignorant, is very great. It would, therefore, be a grave error to set aside these narratives as wholly worthless. On the other hand, written about four or five, and some even six, centuries after the deaths of their respective subjects, their value as authentic biographies is exceedingly small. The essential sameness of incidents, which constitutes one of the main features of British hagiography, is an indication that its principal if not its sole value lies in its incidental illustration of Church customs and social notions, and in the faithfulness with which it reflects the religious tone of those early ages. Reference has been made to the Welsh Genealogies, as another source from which, with careful discrimination, some matters of fact can be ascertained relating to the history of the British Church during the fifth and sixth centuries. This class of literature is the work of compilers who endeavoured to arrange under certain families the names of saints then current. To secure a certain chronological symmetry between the different pedigrees, we find that the same names were often repeated in the series,¹ while the restricted number of the supposed

¹ For instance, in the pedigree of Bran Fendigaid, as given in *The*

initial progenitors required that the number of descendants in each generation should be represented as unusually large.¹ That most of the Welsh saints had a real existence, though not necessarily in the order or connection set forth in the Genealogies, is extremely probable; and Mr. Rees, in his Essay on this subject, has succeeded in drawing out a list of them, resting their historical reality on evidence derived from the names of churches dedicated to their honour. This kind of proof has an exceptional value, inasmuch as it was not until the eighth century that churches in Wales were dedicated to others than their founders.²

Welsh Saints (p. 93), we find that calculating so many generations to a century, the compiler had to repeat twice over the names of Caradog and Cynan, in order to fill up the required number of generations between Arthur at the close of the fifth century and the starting-point of the series in the first century.

¹ Brychan Brycheiniog is said to have had twenty-four children. *Bonedd y Saint* raises the number to forty-nine—twenty-four sons and twenty-five daughters. In the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 140), the names of fifty-three are given—twenty-five sons and twenty-eight daughters.

² Dedication of Churches in Wales passed through three different stages; at first it was to Founders, then to S. Michael, and afterwards to the Blessed Virgin. The old British practice of naming churches after their living founders remained in force until the beginning of the eighth century. S. Martin's at Canterbury and Whitherne are obvious exceptions. Dedications to S. Michael are noticed as a new feature in *Brut y Tywysogion* under the year 717. The third mode is not referred to until the twelfth century: 'MCLV. Ny bu bell wedy hynny yny gyssegrwyt eglwys Veir Ymeiut.'—(*Brut y Tywysog.* p. 184, ed. Williams Ab Ithel). There is, however, an earlier recorded instance of the dedication of a church to S. Mary, that of Llanfair at Bangor, in A.D. 973. The church disappeared before the sixteenth century, but the

By way of illustrating the religious aspect of the British Church and its social surroundings during the sixth century, I propose to close this chapter *S. David*. with extracts from Rhyddmarch's 'Life of S. David.'¹ The picture, as a composition of the eleventh century, is susceptible of many qualifying touches, although the author professes that he found the materials in very ancient writings, extant principally at S. David's. But, independently of its general interest, it is in this work, encumbered though it be with errors and fables, that we find almost all the knowledge we have or are ever likely to have of a Saint who played a not unimportant part in the early ecclesiastical history of Britain.

S. David was the son of Sandde ab Ceredig ab

surrounding fields are still called Erw Fair (Mary's Acre), and the Vicars of Bangor are paid from time immemorial a small sum as the annual rental of the supposed site of this parish church.

¹ The Life by Rhyddmarch is probably the origin of all the others. It is printed in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* pp. 117-143, with an English translation, by the Rev. W. J. Rees. Giraldus, although he boastfully announces his intention in the Preface to his *Life of S. David* not to be bound as to language or matter by the older and, in his opinion, antiquated Life by Rhyddmarch, clings closely to it, and confines his alterations chiefly to words and arrangement; it is inserted in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 628, and in *The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. iii. p. 357, ed. Brewer. The Life in the Sanctilogium of John of Tinnmouth, and printed in Capgrave's *N. L. A.* 82-85, is only an abridgment of that of Rhyddmarch, with the addition at the end of two late miracles. Of a like nature are the accounts in the *Acta Sanctorum*, i. 41, March 1, and in Colgan's *Actt. SS.* i. 425-429; and the Welsh Life in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 102-116.

Cunedda, by Non the daughter of Gynyr of Caergawch. Miraculous incidents preceded and surrounded his birth. 'When he was being baptized by Belue, bishop of the Menevensians, a very clear fountain springing up suddenly appeared in the place, for the ministration of baptism, which had never been seen before, and it cured the eyes of a blind monk who held him while he was being baptized. For that blind man, who is said to have been born without a nostril and without eyes, understanding that the child whom he was holding in his arms was full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, took the water in which the body of the holy infant had been thrice immersed, and sprinkled his face therewith three times, and sooner than spoken he joyfully received the sight of his eyes, and the complete perfection of his face, and on that day all who were present glorified the Lord and holy David. And the place where David was instructed is called the Old Bush, and he grew up full of grace, and lovely to the sight. And there he learned the rudiments, the psalms, the lessons of the whole year, and the services of the mass, and Communion; and there his fellow-disciples saw a pigeon with a golden beak playing about his lips, and teaching him, and singing the hymns of God; and at a subsequent time, when the merits of his virtues had increased, and he had purely preserved himself from the em-

braces of a wife, he was raised to the sacerdotal dignity.'

'From thence he went to the scribe Paulinus, a disciple of Saint Germanus, a bishop, who in a certain island led a life pleasing to God, and who taught him in three parts of reading until he was a scribe. And Saint David remained there many years in reading and fulfilling what he was reading. And it happened that whilst holy David was with his master Paulinus that the latter lost the sight of his eyes through their very great pain; and he called all his disciples in order, that they might inspect and bless his eyes; and they did as he ordered them, but from none of them received he any benefit. At last he invited holy David to him, and said, "Holy David, look at my eyes, for they pain me much." And he answered and said, "My father, do not order me to look at thy countenance, for there are ten years, since I have given myself up to studying the Scriptures with thee, and I have not yet looked at thy face." And Paulinus, admiring his very great modesty, said, "Since it is so, it will be sufficient if touching thou wilt bless my eyes, and I shall be cured." And immediately as he touched them, they were cured in the twinkling of an eye; and the blindness of his eyes being removed, the master received the sight that had been taken away. Then thanks are paid to God, and Paulinus blessed

holy David with all the blessings that are written in the Old and in the New Testament.'

After founding twelve monasteries and building a church at Glastonbury, S. David returns to old Menevia, and goes with his disciples to Glyn Rosyn. At first he was molested by a certain magician called Boya, whom he punishes, and afterwards pardons. 'The malice of enemies being therefore got rid of by the assistance of God, the monastic class erected an eminent monastery in the place, which the angel had before mentioned; and all things being completed, the holy father zealously decreed such rigour of monastic employment that every monk should daily employ himself in hard manual labour and pass his life in common; for saith the Apostle, "He who doth not labour should not eat." For knowing that secure rest was an incentive and the mother of vices, he subjected the shoulders of the monks to divine labours; for those who in the rest of idleness submit their minds and temples to the uncertain spirit of accident, beget incitements to lust without rest. Therefore with a view to their benefit, they labour with feet and hands, and put the yoke to their shoulders, they fix stakes with unwearied arms in the earth, and in their holy hands carry hatchets and saws for cutting. They obtain all the necessaries of life for their congregation by means of their own labour, they refuse possessions,

they reject the gifts of unjust men, they detest riches, they make no use of oxen for ploughing. Every one is rich to himself and to his brethren, and every one is an ox to himself. When the work is completed, no murmuring is heard; no discourse is held beyond what was actually necessary; and everyone either prayed, or rightly performed his appointed work.'

With manual labour the rule of S. David combined works of mercy, prayer, and meditation upon Divine things. All novices were subjected to a long period of severe discipline and trial, in order to test their resolution to comply with the rule. 'The fame of the sweet reputation of holy David having been heard, kings, princes, and laymen left their kingdoms, and came to his monastery; therefore it happened that Constantine king of the Cornishmen left his kingdom, and submitted his neck, untamed before his elevation, to the obedience of humility in a cell of this father. And there he was engaged for a long time in faithful service; at length he went to another distant country, and founded a monastery there.'

The Saint by the direction of an angel goes with Eliud (Teilo) and Padarn to Jerusalem. Their journey is facilitated by S. David being supernaturally gifted with the power of understanding and speaking in the languages of the countries through which they passed. On his return home he is described as taking an

active part in suppressing the Pelagian heresy. ‘ Inasmuch as after the assistance of Saint Germanus for the second time, the Pelagian heresy was reviving, inserting in the inmost parts of the country its obstinate vigour, like the poison of a venomous serpent, an universal synod of all the bishops of Britain is assembled. There were gathered together one hundred and eighteen bishops, and an innumerable multitude of presbyters, abbots, and other orders, kings, princes, laymen, and women, so that the very large army covered all the surrounding places. And the bishops mutter among themselves saying, “ There is a very large company present, so that not only a voice, but the sound of a trumpet cannot reach the ears of them all ; therefore almost all the people, untouched by the preaching, when they return home, will carry with them the heretical blemish.” It is arranged that the people should be preached to under such condition, that a heap of clothes should be raised on high ground, and that one standing thereon should preach. And that whoever should be endowed with such power of speech that his discourse would sound in the ears of those who were far distant, should, with the consent of all, be made Metropolitan Archbishop. Then at an appointed place called Brevi, they endeavour to preach from a raised heap of clothes ; but as if from an obstructed throat, the discourse scarcely proceeds to the

nearest ; the people expect the word, but the greater part hear not. One after another was endeavouring to preach, but is not able. They are in great strait and fear that the people would return without hearing the heresy refuted. " We preach," they say, " and gain nought ; therefore our labour is rendered useless." And one of the bishops, named Paulinus, with whom the pontiff David had formerly read, arose and said, " One who was made a bishop by the Patriarch is not as yet present at our synod, a man who is eloquent, full of grace, and approved in religion, to whom an angel is kind, an amiable man, beautiful in countenance, elegant in form, and in height four cubits : invite him therefore by my advice." '

' Messengers are immediately sent ; they came to the holy bishop, and informed him of the purpose for which they had come. But the holy bishop refused, saying, " Let no one tempt me that such as I am should be equal to what they are unable. I acknowledge my humility. Go in peace." Messengers are sent a second and a third time, but he would not comply. At length the most holy and faithful brethren Daniel and Dubricius are sent, and David, foreseeing it by the spirit of prophecy, said to the brethren, " To-day, most holy brethren, men are coming to us ; receive them with a joyful mind, and procure fish with bread and water for their dinner." The brethren arrive, they

salute each other, and hold spiritual converse, dinner is laid before them, but they declare that they will never dine in his monastery, unless he returns with them to the synod. To which David said, " I cannot refuse you : dine, and we will visit the synod together ; but then I cannot preach, but in prayer will afford you my assistance, small as it is." '

‘ Proceeding they come to the place next to the synod, and lo, they heard near them a funereal wail. And the holy man said to his companions, " I will go to the place where there is this great lamentation." His companions answered and said, " We will go to the congregation, lest waiting for us, our delay may trouble them." The man of God went, and proceeded to the place of lamentation, which was near the river Teivy ; and lo, a bereaved mother was watching the body of her deceased son, who was called Magnus. And Saint David, consoling her with salutary advice, raised her up ; but she having heard of his fame, throwing herself at his feet, entreated him with importunate cries that he would have pity on her. The man of God, having compassion on human infirmity, went to the dead body, watered its face with tears ; and falling upon the corpse of the deceased, prayed to the Lord, and said, " O Lord my God, who didst descend to this world from the bosom of the Father for us sinners, that Thou mightest redeem us from the jaws of the old

enemy, have pity on this widow, and give life to her only son, and breathe into him the spark of life, that Thy name may be magnified in all the earth." At length his limbs became warm, and the body trembled as the soul returned, and taking hold of the hand of the boy, he restored him alive and well to his mother. And the mother turned her sorrowful weeping into tears of joy, and said, " My son was dead, but owing to thee and God he henceforth lives." And the holy man took the boy, and placed on his shoulders the Book of the Gospel, which he always used to carry in his bosom ; and he made him go with him to the synod, and afterwards as a companion he led a life of holy conversation for many years. And all persons who saw the miracle praised the Lord and holy David.'

' Then he went to the synod, and the multitude of bishops rejoice, the people are glad, all the company exult, and when requested to preach he does not refuse to comply with the wishes of the Council. They order him to ascend the mount made of clothes, but he refused ; therefore he ordered the boy lately raised from the dead to place a handkerchief under his feet. He, standing thereon, explained the Gospel and the Law as from a trumpet ; and before them all a white dove sent from heaven sat on his shoulders, which remained so long as he preached. And when he was

preaching, which was with so clear a voice that he was heard by all, and equally by those who were nearest and those who were farthest off, the earth swelling is raised to a hill, and placed on its top he is seen by all as standing on a high mountain, and exalting his voice as a trumpet. On the top of this hill a church has been placed ; the heresy is expelled, the Faith is confirmed in sound minds, and they all agree that thanks should be paid to God and Saint David. Then blessed and sanctified by the mouth of all, with the consent of all bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all ranks of the whole British nation, he is constituted Archbishop, his city also is dedicated as the metropolis of the whole country, so that whosoever should govern it, should be accounted Archbishop.'

'The heresy being expelled, the decrees of Catholic and ecclesiastical rule are confirmed, which by the frequent and cruel inroad of the enemy have disappeared, having become void and nearly consigned to oblivion. From which, as persons awakened from a deep sleep, the battles of the Lord were fought, as may be found in very ancient writings of the father, partly written with his own holy hand. Afterwards, in a succeeding series of years, another synod is assembled, named Victoria, in which assembled a large company of bishops, priests, and abbots, who confirmed what was settled in the former, and like-

wise adding some useful particulars, they renew them with firm rigour. Therefore, from these two synods, all the churches of the country received their method and rule by the Roman authority, the decrees of which confirmed with his mouth he, the bishop, alone committed to writing with his own holy hand.'

'When the day for distributing holy rewards to the meritorious was near, on the twenty-second of February, as the brethren were celebrating the morning hours, an angel spoke to him, saying with a clear voice, "The day so long desired is now accounted close at hand." The holy bishop, knowing the friendly voice, said to him with a joyful mind, "Now, Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace." But the brethren receiving only the sounds into their ears, had not heard nor understood the meaning of the words ; for, on their being spoken, they were terrified and fell to the earth. Then the whole city is filled with the music of angels and sweet-smelling fragrance. And the Saint himself, speaking in a loud voice, and with a mind upraised to heaven, says, "Lord Jesu Christ, receive my spirit." Again the angel says with a clear voice, the brethren understanding him, "Prepare thyself, and get ready on the first of March ; our Lord Jesus Christ, accompanied by a great host of angels, will come to meet thee." These words being heard, the brethren with violent sobbing made great lamen-

tation ; great sadness arises, the city abounds in weeping, and says, " O holy David, our bishop, take away our sadness." But he, soothing them with kind consolations and comforting them, said, " Brethren, be constant, the yoke you have unanimously taken, bear until the end, and whatsoever you have seen and heard, keep and fulfil." And from that hour to the day of his death he remained in the church preaching to all. Amen.'

'And so the report was carried most swiftly, in one day throughout all Britain and Ireland, by an angel, saying, " Know ye that next week our lord, holy David, will depart from this world to the Lord." Then come a concourse of saints from all sides, like bees from a hive at the approach of a storm, and hasten quickly to visit the holy father. The city abounds with tears, the wailing resounds to the sky, young men lament him as their father, and old men as their son. On the intervening Sunday, in the hearing of a great multitude, he preached a most excellent sermon, and consecrated the Lord's Body with undefiled hands ; but when he had partaken of the Body and Blood of the Lord, he was immediately seized with pain and became unwell. Having finished the office and blessed the people, he addressed them all, saying, " My brethren, persevere in those things which ye have learned of me and have seen with me ;

on the third day of the week, the first of March, I shall go the way of my fathers ; fare ye well in the Lord, but I shall set forth ; in this world we shall never see each other any more.”’

‘ Then the voice of all the faithful was raised in mourning and lamentation, saying : “ O that the earth would swallow us, that the fire would consume us, that the sea would hide us ! O that by some sudden irruption death would seize us ! O that the mountains would rush upon us ! ” All almost were giving themselves up to death. From the Sunday night to the fourth day after his departure, all who came, remained weeping, fasting, and watching. When the third day came, the city, filled at the time of cock-crowing with angelic choirs, is musical with heavenly songs, and full of the sweetest fragrance. In the morning the clergy having sung psalms and hymns, the Lord Jesus condescended to bestow His presence for the consolation of the father, as He had promised by the angel. When he saw Him, exulting greatly in spirit, he said, “ Take me with Thee. ” With these words, having Christ for his companion, he gave up his life to God, and attended by the angelic host, he went to the heavenly country.’ ¹

¹ Except in a few instances, where a closer rendering of the original seemed possible, I have availed myself of the translation given in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 418-447.

CHAPTER IV.

'Alia vero quæ per loca terrarum regionesque variantur, . . . nec disciplina ulla est in his melior gravi prudentique Christiano, quam ut eo modo agat quo agere viderit Ecclesiam ad quam forte devenerit. Quod enim neque contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores esse convincitur, indifferenter est habendum, et propter eorum inter quos vivitur societatem servandum est.'—S. AUG., EPIST. liv.

BEFORE proceeding to what may be called the second period in the history of the British Church, beginning with the establishment of the Roman mission under S. Augustine at Canterbury, it will be useful to take a brief connected view of the salient features of its ecclesiastical organisation.

The signatures to the Council of Arles of three British Bishops, with descriptive titles attached to them, indicate the existence at a very early period of a Diocesan Episcopate in the British Church.¹ Further, the circumstance that the name of each of these three sees is identical

Diocesan
bishops in
the British
Church from
the earliest
date.

¹ Vide supra. Josceline (*V. S. Kentigerni*, xi. xxxiv. ap. Pinkerton's *V. SS. Scot.* 224, 269) speaks of a diocesan episcopate in North Britain in the time of S. Kentigern, whose diocese he represents as extending from the wall of Severus to the Forth. The biographer transferred to other ages the usage of his own days, for diocesan episcopate was not established in Scotland until the twelfth century.

with that of the capital of Roman provinces in Britain, as well as the probabilities of the case, judging from the principle observed in England and to a still greater degree on the Continent, lead to the supposition that British bishoprics always occupied the sites of Roman towns. The political importance of such places and their central accessible position naturally suggested the fitness of the choice. The application of this principle, however, is not admissible in the case of Wales, except in the solitary instance of Caerleon. The reason of what appears at first a strange exception is evident, for it was not until after the departure of the Romans that the bishopric of Caerleon, up to that time almost certainly the sole see in Wales, was subdivided into those of S. David's, Llanbadarn, and Llandaff. Such a division would be a re-adjustment to correspond pretty generally with the districts into which the southern principality was then being divided.¹ About the same time also the influence of S. Martin of Tours was powerful in Britain,² and in

Subdivision
of the See of
Caerleon.

¹ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 143.

² Proofs of the great reverence in which the name of S. Martin was held in Britain continually recur. Tradition takes S. Ninian to Tours, and ascribes to the kindly office of S. Martin the foreign workmen employed in erecting the stone church at Whithern (Ailred. Rieval. *V. S. Niniani*, cap. iii.; Pinkerton's *Vita SS. Scot.* p. 6); the church, when finished, S. Ninian dedicated to his memory (Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 4). There was also another church called after S. Martin at Canterbury

accordance with the spirit of his monastic system, secluded spots would be chosen as the most fitting sites to be the seats of Episcopal sees.¹ Before the

(*Ibid.* i. 26). Some of the Irish records connect his name with the Christianising of Ireland, representing him as the great uncle of S. Patrick, at whose monastery S. Patrick was staying when the idea of converting that country was first divinely suggested to him (*Quinta V. S. Patricii*, lib. i. cap. 14; *Sexta V.* i. xxii.; *Sept. V.* xxxii.; ap. Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* pp. 52, 65, 69, 121). We also find that the name of S. Martin was in the Columban Missal to be recited with those of other saints in the 'Deprecatio pro animabus defunctorum' (Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* lib. iii. cap. 13). Though the following story should not perhaps be considered historical, still it is an indication of the existence of intimate relations between the Columban Order and the Church of Tours: The people of Tours had lost all trace of the exact spot where S. Martin was buried. S. Columba happened to visit their city on his way home from Rome, and they applied to him for information. The saint promised to point out the grave on condition that he should be allowed to reserve for himself everything found therein, except the bones of the dead. When S. Columba had discovered for them the place where the sacred body lay, and when a Missal was found there, 'factæ sponsonis Turonenses prope pœnituit, detrectantes inventum Missale Columbæ poscenti consignare,' unless he conferred upon them another kindness by choosing from among his friends a holy and useful man to be their bishop. To this S. Columba assented, and naming S. Mochonna, whom the Pope had already appointed to the vacant see, he thus obtained the Missal of S. Martin. Colgan, *Quinta V. S. Columbæ*, ap. *Tr. Th.* p. 436a. In the names given to the holy wells of Derry, Tobar Martain, Tobar Adhamnain, and Tobar Coluim, S. Martin is again associated with the great monastic patrons of Ireland and North Britain (Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* introduction, p. xlii).

¹ Sulpicius Severus, a disciple of S. Martin, thus describes the situation of the monastery near Tours: 'Aliquamdiu ergo adhærente ad ecclesiam cellula usus est: deinde cum inquietudinem frequentium ferre non posset, duobus fere extra civitatem milibus monasterium sibi statuit. Qui locus tam secretus et remotus erat, ut eremi solitudinem non desideraret. Ex uno enim latere, præcisa montis excelsa rupe ambiebatur: reliquam planiciem Liger fluvius reducto paullulum sinu

close of the sixth century six diocesan bishoprics had been established in Wales; but of these Llanbadarn and Llanafan-Fawr had only a temporary existence, and following the changes effected in the number of the territorial divisions of the country, were united, first Llanafan-Fawr with Llanbadarn, and then both with S. David's.

But besides the sees which have been mentioned, two others are named in one of the traditional lists of the seven British Bishops said to have been present at the second conference ^{Sees of Morganwg and Wig.} with S. Augustine, viz. Morganwg, as distinct from Llandaff, and Wig.¹ They have been conjecturally identified, Morganwg with Margam, and Wig with

clauserat; una tantum eademque arcta admodum via adiri poterat,' *V. S. Martini*, § vii. The picture drawn by Giraldus of S. David's, as it existed in his time, is even less attractive than that of its pattern at Tours: 'Hic etenim angulus est supra Hibernicum mare remotissimus: terra saxosa, sterilis, et infecunda; nec silvis vestita, nec fluminibus distincta, nec pratis ornata; ventis solum et procellis semper exposita; inter hostiles proprie populos, hinc Flandrensem, inde Kambrensem, frequenter attrita.'—*Itiner. Camb.* ii. 1; *Opp.* vi. 102. Brewer considers its almost inaccessible situation the best explanation of the celebrated line—

'Roma dedit quantum bis dat Menevia tantum;'

that is, one pilgrimage to S. David's was a severer discipline to the flesh than two to Rome.—*Gir. Camb. Opp.* i, editor's preface, xix. note.

¹ 'Llyma'r Esgobion a fuant yn dadlu ag Awstin Esgob y Saeson ar lan Hafren yn y Deuau nid amgen, Esgob Caerfawydd a elwir Henffordd, 2, Esgob Teilaw, 3, Esgob Padarn, 4, Escob Bangor, 5, Escob Elwy, 6, Esgob y Wig, 7, Escob Morganwg.'—*Iolo MSS.* 143.

Herefordshire Weeg on the Wye. There is no fairly historical evidence extant in favour of either see, but there can be no reasonable doubt as to their existence, though probably this was during only a short period, for, when the districts with which they were conterminous were absorbed into the one principality of Morganwg, the sees also would undergo a similar absorption into the one Bishopric of Llandaff; ¹ their disappearance therefore would be due to the same causes as those which we know were at work in the case of Llanafan-Fawr and Llanbadarn.

I. Bangor, for the principality of Gwynedd. The extent of this Diocese cannot be exactly defined. Its founder and first recorded bishop was ^{See of Bangor.} Daniel or Deiniol Wyn; ² 'he was the son of Dynawd Fawr, the son of Pabo Post Prydain, and Deuer the daughter of Lleinawg was his mother.' ³ Both Dunawd the father and his three

¹ An ancient MS. inserted in Williams's *History of Monmouthshire* (Appendix, p. 66) states that Morgan, surnamed Mwynfawr, a king of Glamorgan, who lived in the time of Oudoceus, had his palace at Margam, and that he created a bishopric there, which had five successions, and was then united to Llandaff. The following catalogue from the literary stores of the late Iolo Morganwg appears to have reference to the Bishops of Margam: 'Bishops of Glamorgan alias Cynffig:—1, Morgan, the son of Adras, Bishop and King; 2, Ystyphan; 3, Cattwg; 4, Iago; 5, Cawan; 6, Tyfodwg; 7, Cyfelach; 8, Mabon.'—*Iolo MSS.* 361, n.

² *Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 137; *Lib. Landav.* 5, 68; Girald. *Camb. Descript. Cambr.* i. 4; *Opp.* vi. 170; Geoffrey of Monmouth, xi. 3.

³ *Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 266.

sons are said to have co-operated in the establishment of the monastery of Bangor Iscoed. Deiniol died in A.D. 584,¹ and was buried in the island of Bardsey.² Nothing is known of the early history of the see; but from about the middle of the eighth century, when, under the fostering care and protection of the princes of North Wales, it appears to have gained an accession of dignity, the names of its bishops occasionally recur. The most distin-

¹ 'CXL Annus. Dispositio Danielis Bancorum.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M.H.B. p. 831). The notices in these annals are brief but valuable. The earlier portion, down to the beginning of the sixth century, seems to be based upon an Irish Chronicle used also by Tigernach and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. They were probably written at S. David's, judging from the prominence assigned therein to events connected with its bishop and monastery. Mr. Williams ab Ithel suggests as their compiler one of the two brothers Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, or Geraint, the Blue Bard; Mr. Williams inclines to the latter (*Ann. Camb.* pref. xiii, xiv. ed. Williams), but Sir Thomas Hardy (*Descript. Catal.* p. 562), for reasons which appear conclusive, to the former. The chronology of these annals is indicated by the word *annus* being repeated for each successive year, whether blank or otherwise, and every tenth year is marked by a number. The last number recorded stands for the year 956, but *annus* is repeated till the last recurrence of it corresponds with the year 977. From this it has been inferred that 977 marks the date when the Annals in their original form were compiled. It should be remembered that the era on which the chronology rests is assumed to concur with the year 444. For this seemingly arbitrary arrangement Professor Skene (*Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, pref. xxviii.) suggests the probable explanation that as the year 444 was, according to the Annals of Ulster, the era of the foundation of Armagh, and that as the Irish chronicle on which the *Annales Cambriæ* are based, may have been connected with Armagh, it would therefore not unnaturally adopt the date of its establishment as the starting point in chronology.

² Gir. Cambr. *Itin. Cambr.* ii. 6; *Opp.* vi. 124.

guished was Elfod, called Elbodugus in the 'Annales Cambriæ' and Elvodugus in some manuscripts of Nennius, and in others Elbotus or Elbodus. The same name also recurs twice in the list of the early bishops of S. David's, for the sixth and the thirteenth bishop from S. David; though in the first instance in the slightly different form of Elwaid or Elwid, and, the second time, of Eludged or Eluoed.¹ It was probably foisted therein by the compilers, whose custom it was to endeavour to make their catalogues symmetrical and seemingly more complete by the insertion of names found elsewhere.² The Welsh chroniclers call Elfod Archbishop of Gwynedd,³ and

¹ Gir. Cambr. *Itin. Cambr.* ii. 1; *Opp.* vi. 102 and n. ⁴. The Domitian A. 1 manuscript of the third edition of the *Itinerary* has Elwaid and Eludged, but in those of the first edition (*Bib. Reg.* 13 B. viii. of the British Museum, and Rawlinson, B. 188 of the Bodleian Library) and in the second edition (*Harleian*, 359, in the Bodleian), the names are slightly varied, Elwaid into Elwid, and Eludged into Eluoed. However, under the year 994, we have in Radulphi de Diceto *Abbrev. Chron.* (Twysd. 461) the name in exactly the same form as that of the Bishop of Bangor in *Brut y Tywysog.*: 'Alfricus. . . . Elvodum Sancti David, Cantuariæ consecravit.'

² There is an instance also of this transfer in the list of the bishops of Llandaff, where the name of Novis is found ('Nobis, Episcopus nonus decimus,' *Lib. Landav.* p. 208), evidently borrowed by the compiler from the catalogue of S. David's. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the name of this bishop of Llandaff appears as a witness to a grant recorded on the margin of the ancient MS. copy of the Gospels, preserved in Lichfield Cathedral, and now known as the Book of S. Chad.

³ 'CCLXV Annus. Elbodg^o Archiepiscopus Guenodoti regionis migravit ad Dominum.' *Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 833). 'Oed Crist

although owing to the wavering phraseology of the later Chronicles¹ the probative value of such a titular ascription is very slight, still in the case of Elfod, and to a still greater degree in that of Novis of S. David's in the next century,² the title seems to prove not indeed that they possessed metropolitan jurisdiction, but that they were supposed to be independent of such jurisdiction.³ After the death of Elfod a long silence ensues in the history of the See, broken only by a record in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (Gwent.), that in A.D. 870 the action of Bangor took place, where the

809, y bu farw Elfod Archescob Gwynedd.' *Brut y Tywysog.* Gwent. in *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 8.

¹ Several instances of the same inexact use of the term Archbishop occur in the old records of the Irish Church. Thus, in the Prologue to *Secunda Vita S. Brigide* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 518), the title of 'Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium' is applied to the bishop of the Parochia connected with her monastery. In the same way S. Fiacc, Bishop of Slebhite or Stettz, and S. Moedhog of Ferns, are spoken of as archbishops: 'Et (Fiecus) postea ab eodem (S. Patricio) consecratus est episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive successores deinde funguntur.' —*Prima V. S. Patricii*, Scholii veteres Scholiastæ, Colgan *Tr. Thaum.* p. 4. 'Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub, et tam laici, quam clerici, ut Archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc Sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est Archiepiscopus.' *V. S. Maidoci*, c. xxviii.; Colgan, *Actt. SS.* p. 211. Dr. Todd (*Life of S. Patrick*, p. 16) accounts for this misuse of the title by supposing that it had its origin in confusing the Irish ardēpscob (or the equivalent Welsh archesgob) with the Latin archiepiscopus, that the former term originally set forth the dignity of the person, and not the nature of the office he held.

² Asserius, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfridi* (M. H. B. p. 488).

³ *Hist. of S. David's* (Jones and Freeman), p. 259.

Saxons were killed in great numbers by stones rolled upon them from the hills, and among them the bishop of Bangor.¹ The names of two bishops of Bangor in the tenth century are recorded, Bishop Mordaf among the clergy who accompanied Howel Dda and the princes of Cymru to Rome (A.D. 920–930), to obtain for his laws the sanction of Pope Anastasius,² and Bishop Morcheis, of whom there is nothing said beyond the date of his death.³ The preservation of the memory of Bishop Madoc Min, surnamed from his wiliness and deceit the Fox, in the eleventh century, is due to the unenviable notoriety he acquired as the betrayer of Llywelyn ab Seisyllt and afterwards of Gruffudd his son to Harold.⁴ Disappointed of the reward of his treachery, for Harold refused to pay the stipulated

¹ *Arch. Camb.* 3rd Series; x. p. 14.

² 'Aeth Hoel da a theuyrnedd o Gymry y gidac ef a Lambert Esgob Mynyw, a Mordaf Esgob Bangor, a Chebur Esgob Seint Asaph, a Blegewryd archdiagon Llanndaf, hyd att Anestacius Bab hyd yn Ryfein y darllein y gyfreith ac y edrych a oed dim yn erbyn kyfreith Dyw o honei hi ac am nadoed dim yn gwrthneby idi, hi a deilyngwyd.' *Pref. to Laws of Howel Dda* (Dimetian Code) in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i. 342, ed. 1841. The list in *Brut y Tywysog.* (M. H. B. 847), and that in the Gwentian Form (*Arch. Camb.* x. pp. 20, 22), differ from the above and from each other. Bishop Mordaf and Blegewryd are, however, found in all the lists.

³ DCCCCXLIII. *Brut y Tywysog.* ed. Williams Ab Ithel, p. 20.

⁴ 'Oed Crist 1060, Bu cad ar faes lle ai lladdwyd drwy frad a thwyll Madawc Min escob Bangor, yr un ac a wnaeth y twyll o ba un y lladdwyd Llywelyn ab Seisyllt.'—*Brut y Tywysog.* (Gwent.) in *Arch. Camb.* 3rd Series, x. p. 56; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 1063 (M. H. B. 458). *Ann. Camb.* A.D. 1063 (M. H. B. 840). *Flor. Wig.* A.D. 1064 (M. H. B. 612).

three hundred head of cattle, and naturally hated by his own countrymen, Madoc Min quitted Bangor to retire to Ireland, but the vessel in which he sailed was wrecked, and while the lives of the rest on board are significantly said to have been saved, the bishop was drowned.¹ The names of three other bishops of Bangor in the same century have been handed down, Morgleis, Duvan, and Revedun. They are mentioned in a Letter written to Eugenius III. by the chapter of S. David's² (A.D. 1145), who, to establish the right of their see to the metropolitan dignity, affirm with little relevancy to the point in dispute that Morgleis and Duvan had been consecrated by Joseph, 'nostræ memoriæ . . . hujus sedis Archiepiscopus,' and Revedun by Julienus, or Julien of the Brut y Tywysogion.

II. Llanelwy or S. Asaph, conterminous for the most part with the principality of Powys. Its reputed founder was Kentigern (Cyndeyrn). The history of his life bears the usual characteristics of British hagiography.³ His paternity, according to

See of Llan-
elwy or S.
Asaph. S.
Kentigern.

¹ *Iolo MSS.* p. 198.

² Gir. Cambr. *De Invect.* ii. 6; *Opp.* iii. 56-58. The genuineness of this Letter is not quite free from doubt. Giraldus says that he discovered it and other documents, which he names *in loco*, among the muniments of S. David's; although 'antiquam dignitatem metropolitani-
cam redolentes,' he speaks of them as 'per incuriam olim et negligentiam fere deperditas et oblivioni datas.' *De I. et S. Menev. Eccl. Dist.* iii.; *Opp.* iii. 187.

³ There are three Lives extant of S. Kentigern: (1) A fragment by an anonymous monk, addressed to Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow,

Josceline, was mysteriously unknown ;¹ his grandfather, a king of Cumbria, was by religion a heathen, but his mother, although not baptised, ran in the ways of God's commandments. Falsely accused, his mother was condemned to be thrown down a precipice. Miraculously preserved, she was next sent adrift on the open sea in a small coracle ; but He who preserved Saint Paul in his third shipwreck, brought her in safety to Culross, and that from regard to her yet unborn

who flourished 1147-1164. The manuscript is in the British Museum, Titus A. xix. ff. 76-806, and has been printed in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasgoensis*, t. i. pp. lxxviii-lxxvi. (2) A complete Life, in forty-five chapters, with a prologue by Josceline of Furness (circa 1180), printed in Pinkerton's *Vitæ SS. Scot.* pp. 195-297, and addressed 'cum filialis dilectionis et subjectionis affectu,' to 'Domino suo reverentissimo et patri karissimo Jocelino Episcopo Domini Jesu Christi.' Josceline's authorities are, he states, (a) An earlier Life of Kentigern, 'quem vestra frequentat ecclesia,' but which contained 'in ipso narrationis frontispitio quoddam sanæ doctrinæ et catholicæ fidei adversum,' and (β) a 'codiculum stilo Scotico dictatum . . . per totum solœcismis scatentem.' This work of Josceline is extant in two MSS.: one, the less correct according to Bishop Forbes (*Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 362), of the twelfth century, is in the British Museum, Vitell., C. viii. ff. 148-195; the other in Marsh's Library, Dublin, V3, 4, 16. (3) There is also a third Life, based upon Josceline's, in the *Sanctilogium*, by John of Tinmouth; it is given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Ang.* p. 207; and from thence in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 13, i. 815.

¹ The Breviary of Aberdeen, however (Lect. Prima, Januarii idibus), describes S. Kentigern as the son of King Eugenius (Eufuren) of Cumbria, and of Tenew, daughter of Loth, King of Laudonia. With this the Genealogies of the Welsh Saints agree; 'Cyndeyrn, the son of Garthwys, the son of Owain, the son of Urien, and Deny the daughter of Llawddyn Llueddawg, of the city of Eidyn in the North, was his mother.'—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 266.

babe, whom He had predestined to be a teacher and a great ruler in His Church. Placed under the care of S. Serf, the child so endeared himself to the old man that he used to call him Mungo, the gentle and beloved one. Vexed by envious companions, S. Kentigern, for so he was now called, left Culross, and crossing the waters of the Frith and the Forth, he was divinely guided to Cathures (Glasgow). There, in despite of his own scruples that he was too young, for at the time he was only in his twenty-fifth year, he was consecrated bishop. But the relatives (*cognati*) of a tyrant, by name Morken, raised a persecution, and S. Kentigern fled to Menevia to S. David. On his way he tarried some time at Karleolum (Carlisle), converting the idolatrous inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, and also at another place ('in loco condenso'), where he confirmed the people in the Faith, and where he erected a cross, which gave the place the name of Crosfeld (Crossthwaite). At Menevia the two saints were like burning lamps before the Lord, while their preaching unlocked the gates of heaven to the great multitude that thus found an entrance within. At the entreaty of Caswallon Llhw Hir, S. Kentigern retires to North Wales, where at the junction of the Clwyd and Elwy he establishes a monastery and an episcopal see. Here indeed he had proposed to himself to end his days, and in death to

rest in the sight of the children he had begotten in the Gospel. But God's will be done. Pressed by letters from Rhydderch Hael,¹ who by the battle of Arderydd had become king of all the Strathclyde, that he should return to Glasgow, and warned of God in a dream, S. Kentigern on the morrow bade farewell to the assembled clergy. When S. Asaph² had been unanimously elected to succeed him, he left the cathedral, blessing them all as he went, and followed by loud wailing as he departed through the north door. At length, full of days, at the age of one hundred and

¹ Of this same Rhydderch, S. Columba is said to have foretold that he should never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but die in peace at his own home: 'Nusquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super plumatiunculam, morietur domo. Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium plene adimpletum est; nam juxta verbum ejus in domo sua morte placida obiit.'—Reeves' *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* lib. i., c. viii. (Skene's ed. pp. 123, 124.)

² He was the son of Sawyl Benuchel, the son of Pabo Post Prydain, and Gwenassed the daughter of Rhun Hael of Reinawc was his mother.—*Cambro.-Brit. SS.* p. 266. Brown Willis, in his *Survey of S. Asaph*, vol. ii. p. 4, says that in his time the two aisles of the lower church of S. Asaph were distinguished by the names of Eglwys (church of) Asaph, and Eglwys (church of) Kentairn. In the Martyrology of Aberdeen his feast is kept on the 1st of May: 'Kl' Maii. In Vallia Sancti Aseph discipuli Sancti Kentigerni de quo ecclesia cathedralis in eadem provincia cujus pacientia et vite sanctitudo illius regionis incolis viuendi normam egregiam et fidei constanciam admonuit.' (Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 130). Other traces of the cultus of S. Asaph in Scotland have survived; e.g. in the parish of Strath, in the Isle of Skye, there is still a chapel called Asheg; also a spring which bears the name of Tobar Asheg or S. Asaph's Well.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland.* Ed. 1834-35, xxxi. p. 305.

eighty-five years, in the year 612 according to the 'Annales Cambriæ,'¹ he passed away from this world to his Father.

Of the see of S. Llanelwy or S. Asaph no records are extant prior to Norman times, but in the Dime-tian version of the Preface to the Laws of Howel Dda, Cebur, a bishop of S. Asaph, is mentioned as one of the clergy who went with Howel Dda to Rome.² Also the chapter of S. David's, in their Letter to Eugenius III., to which reference has already been made,³ claim for one of their bishops, Bedwd (Bleidud or Bledud, 1061-1071), the consecration of a Melanus Landavensis.⁴ In A.D. 1125, it was proposed

¹ 'CLXVIII. Annus. *Conthigirni obitus*' (M. H. B. 831). Several churches in Scotland are dedicated to S. Kentigern, but under his name of Mungo; also seven in Cumberland, but none in Wales. Bishop Forbes (*Kalendars of Scot. SS.* Pref. xxiii.) quotes from Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* (vol. i. p. 20) a curious instance of the hold which the memory of S. Mungo retained in Scotland over the people in the fourteenth century: 'In the year 1379 a pestilence raged in England, but the Scottish borderers ceased not to make inroads upon it, "to preserve themselves from the plague which the English said, God in His grace had sent for their repentance, the Scots using the prayer in their own idiom: *Gode and Saint Mungo, Saint Romayn and Saint Andrew, schield us this day fro Goddis grace and the foule death that Englishmen dien upon.*"' The remembrance of his active goodness had not died out even in the last century. In 1726 a proverb was current in Aberdeenshire, referring to his never ceasing to do good: 'It is like S. Mungo's work which was never done.'—*Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii. p. 166. (Spalding Club).

² Vide supra, p. 150 n.

³ Vide supra, p. 151.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. *De Invect.* ii. 6; *Opp.* iii. 57.

by Henry I. and others, that to put an end to the unceasing strife between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the former should out of his large province concede to the latter three bishoprics, Chester, Bangor, and a third situate between these two, but which from its desolate and uncivilised condition was then without a bishop.¹ Although contemptuously described by Giraldus Cambrensis as a 'paupercula ecclesia,' and a 'paupercula cathedra,'² to this see of S. Asaph belongs the honour of being the last of the Welsh sees to surrender its native independence in favour of Canterbury.

III. S. David's, for the principality of Dyfed. In extent it varied considerably at different times, coinciding in the main with the varying boundaries of the principality, but including from the beginning the southern half of Cardiganshire, afterwards, on the absorption of Llanbadarn, the whole of it, and parts also at different times of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor.³ It reached its maximum

See of S.
David's.

¹ 'Itaque quia inter Archiepiscopos hoc modo pax stabiliri non poterat, alia via per regem et alios mediatores cogitata est, ut Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus de provincia sua magna Eboracensi Archiepiscopo tres Episcopatus concederet, Cestrensem, Bangorensem, et tertium inter hos duos medium sed pro vastitate et barbarie Episcopo vacantem.'—Stubbs, *Chron. Pontif. Ebor.* (Twysden) 1718.

² *Itiner. Cambr.* ii. 10; *Opp.* vi. 137; *Descript. Cambr.* i. 4; *Opp.* vi. 170.

³ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), p. 144.

extent in the ninth century, when Rhodri Mawr, through his wife, had acquired the sovereignty of South Wales.¹ All early documents relating to the foundation of the see were destroyed during the repeated harrying by the Northmen of the sea coast of Menevia in the tenth and eleventh centuries.² The 'Annales Cambriæ' concur with Rhyddmarch in ascribing the foundation of the bishopric to S. David,³ although in the legendary reference to a cousin or an uncle,⁴ residing already at old Menevia as bishop, and to S. Patrick's associations with the place,⁵ we seem to trace the existence there of a religious establishment even before the time of S. David. Of S. David's immediate successors, there are three discor-

¹ *Hist. of S. David's* (Jones and Freeman), p. 255.

² Rhyddmarch, *V. S. David in Cambr.-Brit. SS.* 139.

³ *Ann. Camb.* 'CLVII. Annus. . . David Episcopus Moni Iudeorum' (M. H. B. 831). 'CCI. Annus. Percussio Demeticæ regionis, quando cenobium David incensum est.' (M. H. B. 832). Moni Iudeorum evidently stands for Kil-muine, the Irish equivalent for Hen Meneu, — Vetus Rubus. 'Kil-Muni Hybernice adhuc hodie ecclesia Menevensis appellatur.'—*Gir. Cambr. V. S. Davidis*, Lect. iii. ; *Opp.* iii. 384.

⁴ There is a slight variation in both his name and his relationship to S. David: 'Yno yd oed esgob a elwit Goeslan, a hwnnw a oed vrawt fyd y Dewi.' *Buchedd Dewi Sant in Cambro.-Brit. SS.* p. 105. 'Habitabat autem ibi Guislianus episcopus patruelis ejus.'—Rhyddmarch, *V. S. David*, *Ibid.* p. 124. 'Erat autem eodem tempore ibidem episcopus avunculus ejus, vir venerabilis, cui nomen Gistlianus.'—*Gir. Cambr. V. S. Davidis*, Lect. iii. ; *Opp.* iii. 386. He was really the uncle of S. David, being the son of Gynyr by his second wife Anna, the daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid (King Vortimer), and the brother of Non, the mother of S. David.—Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 162.

⁵ *Cambro.-Brit. SS.* 102, 103, 118, 119.

dant accounts. The 'Liber Landavensis' affirms that upon his death, S. Teilo of Llandaff consecrated S. Ishmael,¹ who had been one of S. David's earliest scholars, to succeed him. But other traditions, upheld by the clergy of S. David's, assert that his successor was Teilo himself, translated from the less important to the larger see, immediately,² or after the decease of Cynog,³ who, the second bishop of Llanbadarn, had become also by translation the second bishop of S. David's.

IV. Llanbadarn, for the principality of Ceredigion. It included, however, only the northern half of modern Cardiganshire, together with Brecknockshire north of the Irfon, the west of Radnorshire, and perhaps a few parishes along the southern boundary of Montgomeryshire.⁴ The name of S. Padarn, the founder of the see, is found always associated with SS. David and Teilo. According to the legendary history of his Life (twelfth century),⁵ Padarn was a Breton, who, following the example of Hitenlau, Cadvan, and Tydecho, came to Wales (A.D.

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Llanbadarn.

¹ P. 109.

² Godwin, *De Presulibus Angliæ*, ii. 153.

³ Gir. Cambr. *Itin. Cambr.* ii. 1. Geoffrey of Monmouth, xi. 3.

⁴ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 145. Rees (*Welsh Saints*), however, assigns to Llanbadarn 'a considerable part of Montgomeryshire.' P. 216.

⁵ *Cambro.-Brit. SS.* 188-197. It is also printed in an abridged form in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* (ff. 258-259 b), and from thence reprinted in *Actt. SS.* ii. 378 sq. April 15.

512) with eight hundred and forty-seven monks, and became the first bishop of Llanbadarn-Fawr ; he goes to Jerusalem with SS. David and Teilo ; returning home, he consents, at the solicitation of Caradoc, surnamed Bretbras, to cross over to Brittany ; troubled by false brethren, he leaves Vannes and goes to the Franks, where (A.D. 555 or 560) he slept in the Lord. Little is known of this bishopric during its short-lived existence ; twice only is it noticed, when its bishop Kenauc or Cynog is said to have been translated to S. David's,¹ and again when under the year 720 it is recorded that many of its churches were destroyed by the Saxon invaders.² Soon afterwards, probably weakened and disorganised, it must have been merged in the see of S. David's.³ The suppression, however, is said to have been effected in consequence of the murder of their bishop by the people of Llanbadarn.⁴

¹ Vide supra.

² *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 6.

³ Some trace of the connection of Llanbadarn-Fawr with, and its subordination to S. David's, lingers in the local tradition that the clergy of Llanbadarn came anciently at stated times with offerings to the church of S. David's, and that the canons and clerks of the latter church met them in procession at a place called Pont-halog, and conducted them along a road, now bearing the name of Meidr-y-Saint.—*Hist. of S. David's* (Jones and Freeman), p. 47.

⁴ *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambr.* ii. 4 ; *Opp.* vi. 121. The following sepulchral inscription, at Llanddewi Brefi (Gibson's *Camden*, ii. 769, 776), has been conjectured to be commemorative of the above murdered bishop.—✠ HIC IACIT IDNERT FILIUS I[ACOBI]

QUI OCCESUS FUIT PROPTER P[REDAM] SANCTI.

V. Llandaff, co-extensive with the principality of Gwent (Monmouthshire), ultimately comprehending the whole kingdom of Morganwg, besides other smaller districts within the see which at one time were independent of one another.¹ Of the foundation of Llandaff and its subsequent history there are copious details in the Lives of Dubricius and Teilo, and in the Charters of the diocese in the 'Liber Landavensis' or 'Llyfr Teilo.' The value of the earlier records therein, although no doubt real materials existed for their groundwork, is impaired by the controversial bias of the compiler. It was his object to support by written evidence the claim of the see of Llandaff as against S. David's and Hereford, to the country lying between the rivers Neath and Towy, with a portion of Brecknockshire, and to the district of Ergyng or Archenfield between the Mynwy and the Wye.² Two Lives of S. Dubricius are extant. The first Life seems to be a commemoration homily probably abridged from an earlier compilation; it must have been written during the interval between the translation in A.D. 1120 of the relics of S. Dubricius from Bardsey to Llandaff and the publication of the legendary account of Geoffrey

See of
Llandaff.

S. Dubri-
cius.

¹ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), p. 146.

² *Ibid.* 147, 285, u. b. *Hist. of S. David's* (Jones and Freeman), 277.

of Monmouth, connecting him with S. Germanus and King Arthur.¹ The other Life by Benedict, a monk of Gloucester, in the latter half of the same century, is based upon the first Life and the account given by Geoffrey of Monmouth.² According to the first Life, S. Dubricius was the son of a daughter of Pepian, Prince of Ertici. His reputation for learning was so great that numbers, including Teilo and Sampson, crowded to him for instruction. He resigns the bishopric of Llandaff, and retires to Enlli, where he dies. Benedict, in the second Life, with the utmost indifference to the anachronisms his statements involve, adds many details: that Dubricius was consecrated Bishop by SS. Germanus and Lupus,³ that he crowned Arthur, then in the fifteenth year of his age, at Cirencester, that he resigned in favour of Teilo the see of Llandaff, and afterwards the archbishopric of

¹ Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* 41. It is printed in the *Liber Llandavensis* (edit. 1840), 75-83.

² Chapters 1, 2, 7, 11 and 12, and portions of 3 and 6 are nearly entirely taken from the older Life, but with some omissions of minute particulars; the Prologue may also be referred to it; the remainder is from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the 'Historiola de primo statu Llandavensis Ecclesiæ.' *Descript. Catal.* 42. The second Life is in the *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 654-661, and an abridgment in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 87.

³ S. Germanus was born about the year 378; but 612, 'CLXVIII. Annus. Conthigirni obitus, et Dubric episcopi.' *Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 831). To lessen the difficulty of the supposition that under these circumstances Dubricius could have been consecrated by him, Welsh traditions assign to Dubricius the great age of 150 years, and even more.

Caerleon, and that he was buried at Enlli, where the bodies of twenty thousand saints have been laid to rest.

Teliau, Teilo or Eliud, the successor of S. Dubri-
cius in the see of Llandaff, had been one of his dis-
S. Teilo. ciples. The companion and fellow-labourer
of SS. David and Paternus, he shared with them the
dangers and the high honour of their journey to
Jerusalem. Admonished by an angel, the clergy of
that city made a trial which of the three strangers
was the most humble, and therefore the fittest for the
episcopal office. In the church there were from
ancient times three seats; two whereof were made of
divers metals cunningly worked; the third was of
cedar, without any outward ornament beyond the
natural beauty of the wood. In this last seat, the
lowest, Eliud in his humility chose to sit, leaving the
more costly ones for his brethen. Upon this all who
were present falling upon their faces saluted him,—
'Thou art exalted above thy brethren, for this day
thou hast sat in the seat of our Lord Jesus Christ in
which He preached the kingdom of God to our
fathers.'¹ These three saints were then consecrated

¹ The controversial purport of this legendary incident as tending to the exalting of Llandaff over S. David's is evident. In Rhyddmarch's *Vita S. David* (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 135, 136) the picture is coloured somewhat differently; there it is S. David that the Patriarch of S. Jerusalem, 'divina fultus electione,' is represented as consecrating to be an arch-

bishops, each receiving appropriate gifts, Padarn a staff and a choral cap, David a wonderful altar, and Teilo a bell remarkable for the sweetness of its sound and for its healing powers. Returning home, Teilo found the yellow plague raging; this was stayed however at his prayer. At this period he retired for a time to Brittany.¹ On his return to Llandaff, he

bishop, and it is to S. David that the precious presents are said to have been given.

¹ This withdrawal of the bishop is one of the few incidents in this Life of Teilo which can be considered historical; it was doubtless caused by the great fear of the terrible infection which had seized every rank and profession. Florence of Worcester describes a later visitation in 685 as '*magna pestilentiae procella, Britanniam corripiciens, lata nece vastavit*' (M. H. B. 537). It was known in Ireland as the Crom Chonaill, or Buidhe Chonaill, or Flava Scabies, and in Britain as the Vâd Velen. From these descriptive terms it may be gathered that its most dreaded symptoms were certain inflamed carbuncles or tumours. Three visitations of this plague to the British Islands during the sixth and seventh centuries are recorded. It was popularly personified in Wales as the woman whom whosoever saw was doomed to death (*Iolo MSS.* p. 78). Maelgwn Gwynedd was said to have seen her in the church of Llanrhos, and to have died in consequence (*Myf. Archæol.* vol. ii. p. 59). Its first appearance in Britain—the one referred to above—was in 547, and in Ireland in 550: 'CIII. Annus. Mortalitas magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Genedotæ.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 830). 'A.D. 550. Mortalitas magna, i.e. quæ dicebatur Crom Conaill vel flava scabies.'—*Ann. Tigern.* (O'Connor, vol. ii. 139). Its coming had been heralded by greatmortality: 'A.D. 540. Mortalitas magna dicta *blefed*.'—*Ann. Tigern.* (O'Connor, ii. 137). Also for A.D. 544: 'Mortalitas prima quæ dicitur *blefed*;' and for '548. Mortalitas magna.'—*Ann. Ulton.* (O'Connor, iv. 18, 19). The next recorded visitation, the most fatal of all, was in 664, both Britain and Ireland suffering terribly. Bæda, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 27; *Ann. Tigern.* (O'Connor, ii. 203). In 582 it broke out again with renewed severity for the third time: 'CCXXXVIII. Annus. Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia in qua Catgualart filius Catguolaum obiit.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 833). In

gathered together again those who had been dispersed through fear of the mortality. At his death three parishes, Tenby, Llandeilo-Fawr, and Llandaff, claimed for different reasons his body, but, when after a night spent in fasting and prayer, they found in the morning three bodies exactly alike, each parish took one away.¹ The Llandaff compiler omits not to add, that it was known to all the people by the great number of miracles and the accounts of ancient writers that the real body was taken to Llandaff.²

the autumn of the same year it crossed over to Ireland, attacking at first young children, and afterwards in the following year all ages alike: 'A.D. 682. Initium mortalitatis puerorum in mense Octobris.'—*Ann. Ulton.* (O'Connor, iv. 62). 'CCXXXIX. Mortalitas (fuit) in Hibernia.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 833).

¹ A similar dispute, which, however, the two sides were inclined to decide by more carnal weapons than fasting and prayer, is said to have arisen between the Hy Neill and the people of Orior for the dead body of S. Patrick: 'Tunc ortum est bellum durum de contentione corporis ejus inter duas plebes, id est Ultii et Harlhirii, sed spiritus S. Patricii prohibuit hoc bellum, ne sanguis multorum effunderetur. Tunc maris fretum, quod dicitur Muindam, surrexit inter duas plebes vadis in altum tumescentibus. Post hæc duæ plebes viderunt inter se duos boves plaustrum cum corpore portantes: exieruntque Ultith cum magno gaudio circa plaustrum suum ad Dunleth-glaise; et similiter Orientales circa aliud plaustrum reversi sunt cum ingenti lætitia ad civitatem Ardmachæ' (*Tertia V. S. Patricii*, ap. Colgan, *Trias Th.* p. 29). The same story, with a different issue, is repeated in the older *Life of S. Patrick*, by Muirchie Maccumachtheni; the bier which the Oriors, 'felici seducti fallacia,' are represented as following on its way towards Armagh, is made to disappear with the oxen on reaching the river Cabcenna (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 8, b, a).

² *Lib. Landav.* p. 110; 'Vita S. Teliavi Episcopi, a magistro Galfrido fratre urbani Landav. Eccl. Episcopi dictata,' is printed in *Lib. Landav.* (1840) 92–114; partly in the *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 662; also,

Oudoceus,¹ Cyfeilliawc,² Libiau,² Marchlwys,³ Gulfrid,⁴ Padarn,⁵ Rhodri,⁵ Gwgan,⁶ Bledri,⁷ Jo-

abridged, in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* f. 286; and in the same short form in the *Actt. SS.* ii. 308, Feb. 9. Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* i. 131.

¹ His Life ('Vita B. Oudocei Landav. Archiepiscopi') is in the *Lib. Landav.* 123-132; and abridged in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* f. 258; and in the *Actt. SS.* i. 313, July 2. There is also an extract from it in Wharton, *A. S.* ii. 669. The circumstance that Oudoceus was on his mother's side a nephew of Teilo, and his successor in the see of Llandaff, and the references in his *Life* to Tewdryg and to his grandson Iudris, fix the date of the duration of his episcopate from about the latter portion of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century. Tewdryg was killed in resisting the invasion of the West Saxon king, Colwulf, in A.D. 610; and 'CLXXXVIII. Annus. Strages Sabrina et jugulatio Iudris.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 832).

² 'A.D. 872. Æthelredus Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus. Hic Chevelliam Episcopum Landaviæ, et post Libau Episcopum Landaviæ . . . Cantuariæ consecravit.'—R. de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* (Twysd. 451). Florence of Worcester, under A.D. 872, chronicles the capture by the pagans, and the ransom of Bishop Cyfeilliawc, but calls him Cymelgeac (M. H. B. 570). 'DCCCC^{mo}. XX^o. VII^o. Cimelliauc Episcopus migravit ad Dominum. . . . DCCCC^{mo}. XX^o. IX^o. Libiau Episcopus migravit ad Dominum.'—*Lib. Landav.* 227, 230. Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 305) supposes that the church of Llangyfelach, Glamorganshire, derives its name from Bishop Cyfeilliawc.

³ *Brut y Tywysog. Gwent.*, *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 20. He died in 943.—*Id.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 24.

⁵ *Lib. Landav.* 213-215. 'A.D. 961, Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Padarn Escob Llan Daf, ac y doded Rhodri ab Morgan Mawr yn ei le, a hynny o anfodd y Pab, ac achaws hynny aigwenwynwyd ef.'—*Brut y Tywysog. Gwent.*, *Arch. Camb.* x. p. 28. The name of Bishop Padarn occurs in *Lib. Land.* as twice excommunicating Nowi, King of Gwent, and on his repentance receiving from him grants of the village of Guicon and the territory of Llanbedui (208-211).

⁶ 'DCCCC^{mo}. LXXX^o. II^o. incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus a metropolitano Dunstano, Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo.'—*Lib. Landav.* 235.

⁷ 'DCCCC^o. LXXXIII^o. anno. . . . Bledri Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus est; et millesimo vigesimo secundo anno incarnationis Domini,

seph,¹ and Herwald,² are the names of some of the bishops, which occupied the sec of Llandaff between Teilo and Urban. They satisfactorily prove, notwithstanding the hopeless confusion of dates, the continuous existence of the see from the time of Dubricius.³

There are various indications that, in addition to diocesan bishops, there was a large number of bishops who either combined with episcopal functions the duties and position of abbots in monastic establishments, or who were simply members of their respective monasteries, each subject like other monks to the abbot of his monastery.⁴ That

The existence also of non-diocesan bishops.

ordinationis suæ autem trigesimo nono anno migravit ad Dominum.'—*Lib. Landav.* 241. R. de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* 'A.D. 994. Hic (Alfricus) Bledri Episcopum Landaviæ . . . Cantuariæ consecravit' (Twysden, 461). 'Oed Crist 1023, bu farw. . . . Bledri Escob Teilaw ysgolhaig pennaf gwlad Gymru.'—*Brut y Tywysog.* Gwent., *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 46.

¹ *Lib. Landav.* 241, 242. R. de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* A.D. 1020 (Twysden, 467). 'Oed Crist, 1030. Yflwyddyn honno y peris Ioseb escob Teilaw na wnelid na gwaith na gorchwyl ar y suliau á'r gwyliau, ag a wnaeth ir offeiriaid ddysgu darllain yr ysgrythyr lan heb dal heb ged.' *Brut y Tywys.* Gwent. (*Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 46). 'Oed Crist, 1043. Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Ioseb escob Teilaw, gwr tra doeth a duwiawl, a dysgedig, efe a wnaeth drefn dda ar wyliau mabsant, sef nas caid amgen na gweddiaw Duw a dangos daioni a gwnenthur elusennau arnynt, a chynnal cof ddyledus am Dduw ai Saint.'—*Ibid.* p. 52.

² *Lib. Landav.* 254, 268; *Gir. Camb. De Invect.* ii. 6; *Opp.* iii. 57; R. de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* A.D. 1071 (Twysden, 483).

³ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 147.

⁴ Bishops were generally considered essential to the right governing of large monasteries, as well as to the salvation of their inmates. 'S. Brigid prudenti dispensatione de animabus eorum regulariter in

such an order existed in Ireland is historically certain, and considering that the conditions which called it into existence were equally powerful in this country, it seems most likely that there would be in the British Church also bishops exercising no other functions than those which were bound up with the transmission of the priestly office. This presumption explains, and is confirmed by, incidental notices implying the existence of a much greater number of bishops than the diocesan system,

In consequence of this, a great multiplication of bishops.

omnibus procurans et de Ecclesiis multarum provinciarum sibi adhærentibus sollicitans et secum revolvens, quod sine summo sacerdote qui Ecclesias consecraret et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret esse non posset, illustrem virum et solitarium omnibus moribus ornatum, convocans; eum . . . ut Ecclesiam in Episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret, atque ut nihil de ordine sacerdotali in suis deesset Ecclesiis accersivit' (*Prologus S. Cogitasti, Secunda V. S. Brigide, Colgan, Trias Thaum.* p. 518). The relation, in the rule of Columba, of a bishop in a monastery to the abbot, is illustrated in the following incident: One Findchan, a presbyter and a monk (*Christi miles*), founded a monastery at a place called Artchain, in the *Ethica Terra* or Tíre (Tíretha). He brought with him from Ireland Aedh Dubh, or the Black, who had been guilty of murdering King Diarmait, in the hope that after a few years he should persuade him to embrace a religious life. 'Hic itaque idem Aidus, post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus, accito episcopo, quamvis non recte, apud supra dictum Findchanum, presbyter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput ejus manum imponere, nisi primo idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter amans, suam capiti ejus pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram.' When S. Columba heard what was done, although highly indignant, and although he predicted the fearful future that awaited Findchan and Aedh, that the hand of the one should rot away from his body, and the other become again a murderer and be murdered himself, he attributes no blame to the bishop, the abbatial jurisdiction enforcing his obedience.—*Adamn. V. S. Columbae*, i. xxxvi.

however minutely subdivided, would require. The language of S. Athanasius and S. Hilary¹ conveys the impression that the number of British bishops was considerable, while in the reference which Sulpicius Severus makes to the poverty of three of the British bishops at the Council of Rimini, he gives the reader to understand that the representation of the British Church was not limited to the three of whose exceptional poverty he speaks.² One hundred and nineteen bishops are said to have been present at the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi under S. David,³ while seven score crosiers, between bishops, and archbishops, and abbots, and good teachers,⁴ assembled at the White-House on the Tav to assist Howel Dda to amend the laws and customs of Cymru. The authority of these figures is too precarious to be implicitly trusted, but it would be difficult to account for this general belief in the abundance of the episcopal Order without

¹ Vide supra, pp. 95, 100.

² 'Ita missis per Illyriam, Italiam, Africam, Hispanias Galliasque, magistris officialibus, acciti aut macti quadringenti et aliquanto amplius occidentales Episcopi, Ariminum convenere; quibus omnibus annonas et cellaria dare imperator præceperat; sed id nostris (id est, Aquitanis), Gallis, ac Britannis, indecens visum; repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumtibus vivere maluerunt. Tres tantum ex Britannia, inopia proprii, publico usi sunt, cum oblatam a cæteris collationem respuissent; sanctius putantes fiscum gravare, quam singulos.'—*Hist. Sac.* ii. 41.

³ *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 136.

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (Gwent.), vol. i. 620. The Dimetian Form places archbishops first, and good teachers before 'abbots,' and adds 'priors' to the list.—*Ibid.* 340.

supposing a foundation of truth.¹ The *Liber Llandavensis* in its chronological series gives the names of eight bishops living during the episcopate of Teilo and in his diocese.² The Laws of Howel Dda speak also of seven bishop-houses in Dyfed.³ This description probably applies to conventual establishments whose abbots were bishops without sees, but connected with the places or churches therein mentioned. The seven bishops whom tradition associates with S. David⁴ appear to be bishops who, adopting the mystical number of seven, lived together with a view to missionary work.⁵ At these centres the offices of the Church would be celebrated with especial reve-

¹ Irish traditional records convey the same impression. 'Trecentos namque Episcopos et quinquaginta manu sua consecravit.'—*Sexta V. S. Patricii*. Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* cxxxv. p. 106. S. Columba, when he went from Hi in A.D. 590, to attend the synod of Drumchealt, is represented as being attended by twenty bishops.—Reeves, *Ecccl. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 132.

² Pp. 102, 151–160.

³ 'Seith Escobty (Bishop-houses) yn Dyuet, 1, Mynyw (Menevia). 2, Eglwys Ysmael (S. Ishmael?). 3, Llan Degman (now Rhoscrowther on Milford Haven). 4, Llann Vsyllt (S. Issell's, near Tenby?). 5, Llan Teilaw (Llandeil o vach?). 6, Llann Deulydawc (Llandudoch or S. Dogmael's?). 7, Llann Geneu (Llangan, in which Whitland Abbey is situated?).'—*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i. 556, 558.

⁴ Will. Malm., *Antiq. Glaston.* (Gale, *Script.* xv. 299.)

⁵ This explanation is the more probable, inasmuch as an institution of the above nature existed at the time in Ireland. In the Litany of Aengus no less than 141 places in Ireland are enumerated, where there were or had been *seven* contemporary bishops. Todd's *Life of Patrick*, 35. Among those who met S. Columba at Easdra, the seven bishops of Cluain Hemain are expressly mentioned. *V. S. Ferranani*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* c. vii. p. 337, a.

rence and solemnity; from thence the bishops went out to evangelise the country around; thither the people resorted for comfort and instruction.

How far there was in Wales during the British period an archiepiscopate in the sense of jurisdiction

by one see over another, has been a vexed question, but it is now generally decided in the negative.¹ The Archbishopric of Caerleon rests upon the probability that, in harmony

with the practice of the Church elsewhere, the capital of a Roman Province would be the seat of an archbishop, and upon the accuracy of the wording of the answer of Dunawd to S. Augustine.² The reply doubtless represents correctly the general feeling of British Christians towards Rome, but in its reference to the metropolitanship of Caerleon as well as in its present declamatory form, it bears the marks of being

No historic proof of an Archiepiscopate in Wales during the British period.

¹ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 142, 148.

² 'Bid yspys a diogel i chwi yn, bod ni holl vn ac arall ynuvydd ac ynnostyngedig i Eglwys Duw ac ir Paab o Ruvain ac i boob kyur Grissdion dwyuol, i garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad perffaith, ac i helpio pawb o honaunt a gair a gweithred i vod ynn blant i Dduw : Ac amgenach uvyddod no hwn nidadwen i vod, ir neb ir yddych chwi yn henwi yn Baab, ne in daad o daade, yw gleimio ac yw ovunn : ar uvyddod hwn ir yddym in yn barod yw rodidi ac yw dalu iddo ef, ac i pob Krisdion yn dragwyddol. Hevyd ir ydym in dan lywodraeth Esgob Kaerllion ar Wysg, yr hwn ysydd yn olygwr dan Dduw arnom in, y wneuthud i in gadwyr ffordd ysbydol.'—Spelman, i. 108, 109, copied by him from a supposed ancient MS. in possession of Mr. Peter Mostyn. Two copies of it are extant; the wording given here is from Cott. MSS. Claud. A. viii. 76.

the work of a date not earlier than the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. Neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Giraldus knew anything of such a metropolitanship; nor is there any intimation of the jurisdiction of Caerleon over other sees to be found in Rhyddmarch's Life of S. David, or in the Liber Landavensis.

The earliest authority in favour of an Archbishopric of S. David's is Asser (A.D. 884),¹ and the Dimetian Form of the Laws of Howel Dda (928).² Moreover, the Latin digests of the Dimetian Code (13th and 14th centuries) speak of Menevia as the primatial see of Wales.³ Rhyddmarch extends its jurisdiction over the whole of Britain.⁴ The significance, however, of the title of Archbishop is

Claim of S. David's to be considered an Archiepiscopal see.

¹ Vide supra, p. 149.

² 'Holl eglwysswyr yteyrnnas aaruerynt o teilygdawt bagleu megys Archescob Mynyw ac Esgyb' sq. (All the clergy of the kingdom possessed of the dignity of the crosier, as the archbishop of Menevia and bishops &c.).—*Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i. 339.

The following is of later date: 'Pan symudawd Hwel da (Brenhin Kymry) gyfreithu Kymry amryfaelyon vreineu y amryvaelyon dynion agenatawd. Ac yn gyntaf y kenatawd y pob arglwyd eglwysic megys Archesgob Mynyw' sq. (When Howel the good, king of Cymru, modified the laws of Cymru, he permitted various privileges to various persons of his kingdom. And, in the first place, he permitted every ecclesiastical lord, such as the Archbishop of Menevia, &c.).—*Ibid.* vol. ii. 364.

³ 'Nemo Meneuensem antistitem sine ipso presente vel suis canonicis judicare presumit.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. 791. 'Nemo Menevensem, id est, episcopum, sine ipso et suis canonicis audeat judicare: et similiter de Sancto Beuno, et Terillo, et Tydecho.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. 879.

⁴ *Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 140.

considerably impaired by the fact that the *Annales*

That its
bishops were
sometimes
called Arch-
bishops not
conclusive.

Cambriæ and the Brut y Tywysogion confer the same title on the Bishop of Bangor.¹

Besides, in reference to the testimony on this point of the Laws of Howel Dda, it is a factor in judging of its importance that at the time they were drawn up or codified, the principality of Dyfed had acquired great prestige under the rule of the family of Rhodri Mawr. But it was not until

Archiepiscopal
jurisdiction not
claimed by
S. David's
until the 12th
century.

A.D. 1125 that claims to the Metropolitanship of S. David's were formally put forward.² The disorganised condition of Eng-

land at the beginning of the reign of Henry II. seemed favourable to a renewed prosecution of these claims, and a series of fresh efforts³ was made both at Rome and at the English Court, nor was the persuasive power of money with the latter lost sight of.⁴ But failure was inevitable. It was the fixed policy of Henry and his successors to restrain, and, if possible, to crush among the Welsh people their love of national independence through the agency of an episcopate

¹ Vide supra, p. 148.

² Gir. Camb. *De Invect.* ii. 10; *Opp.* iii. 59, 60.

³ In 1135, *Ibid.* *De Invect.* ii. 7; *Opp.* iii. 58; in 1145, *Ibid.* ii. 6; *Opp.* iii. 56, 58; in 1148, *Ibid.* ii. 8; *Opp.* iii. 59; in 1176, *Ibid.* ii. 1; *Opp.* iii. 50; and in 1179, *De Reb. a se Gest.* ii. 3; *Opp.* i. 48, 49.

⁴ 'Præemptantes autem primo regis animum, utrum inclinari posset ad consensum, pecuniamque non modicam tam ipsi quam consiliariis suis ad hoc offerentes,' sq.—*Ibid.* *De Gestis*, i. 8; *Opp.* i. 40.

foreign and dependent on the see of Canterbury.¹ In A.D. 1149, Eugenius III., while reserving for further examination the general question of the metropolitan authority of S. David's, decides against Bishop Bernard personally, on the ground that at his consecration he had sworn obedience and reverence to the Church of Canterbury.² The King, on his part, returned the fierce answer that never so long as he lived would he raise up a head for rebellion against England by giving the Welsh a metropolitan.³ The deputation,

¹ Gir. Camb. *De Invect.* v. 6 ; *Opp.* i. 131. Archbishop Hubert, in his Letter to Pope Innocent III. against the consecration of Giraldus, lays the utmost stress upon this political use of the metropolitanship of Canterbury: 'Wallenses enim a prima Britonum prosapia, . . . totius Britanniae dominium sibi de jure deberi jactitant; unde si non efferae gentis et effrenae barbariem districtiois ecclesiasticae censura coercuisset, facta per Cantuariensem, cui gens illa lege provinciali hactenus subjecta fuisse dignoscitur, a rege suo vel continua vel crebra rebellione discessisset, sequente necessario totius Anglicanae regionis inquietudine.'—*Ibid. De Invect.* i. 1 ; *Opp.* iii. 15. The bitter feeling at this time of English ecclesiastics towards the Welsh Church appears from the eulogy passed by Gervasius, a monk of Canterbury, upon Archbishop Hubert: 'Controversiam quam in odium et contemptum archiepiscopi suscitaverat Gelardus Menevensis archidiaconus ipse archiepiscopus prudentissime redegit ad nihilum, ut ipse G. qui paulo ante Menevensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus esse volebat, et ecclesiae Cantuarensis subjectionem debitam septem episcoporum subtrahere moliebatur, ad pedes archiepiscopi pronus accederet satisfaciens humiliter de tam iniqua praesumptione, et eidem archiepiscopo suum resignavit archidiaconatum. . . . Dicant alii quod voluerint de operibus Huberti, ego istud maximum censeo, quod episcopus vii in subjectione retinuit Cantuarensi ecclesiae, et rebellem Gelardi contrivit astutiam.' (*Chron. Gervasii* ap Twys. *Script.* x. 1682).

² *Ibid. De Invect.* ii. 2 ; *Opp.* iii. 51, 52 ; *De I. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist.* ii ; *Opp.* iii. 180, 181.

³ *Ibid. De Gestis*, i. 8 ; *Opp.* i. 40. The king was not very far

consisting of the Archdeacons of S. David's and the more discreet of the canons, were obliged to rest satisfied with an empty public protestation of the right and ancient dignity of their Church, before the Legate, in the Council of the clergy of the whole kingdom, then sitting in London. This question of metropolitan privileges for S. David's, but in connection with freedom from the appointment of English nominees to Welsh bishoprics, was again revived by Giraldus Cambrensis. Thrice he journeyed to Rome to argue the case in person. His efforts, however, were but feebly seconded by the clergy of S. David's, who considered the few popular traditions upon which he based his arguments as unhistorical as the Arthurian legends,¹ and to whom his own indomitable perseverance and confidence seemed towards the end a

wrong in his fears that the restoration of the ecclesiastical independence of the Welsh Church under an archbishop of S. David's, was associated in the mind of the Welsh people with the restoration of the political independence of Wales. Giraldus acknowledges that the two objects found a place in his thoughts. 'Statimque sibi in ipso aggressu tantum animositatis pariter et cordis accrevit, ut ad reformandum ecclesiæ suæ statum pristinum patriæque totius honorem . . . se totum indubitanter et incunctanter applicaret' (*De Gestis*, iii. 13; *Opp.* i. 112). The intense interest which the Welsh princes showed in the matter, is also highly significant. *De Invect.* v. 3, *Opp.* i. 128, 129; *De Jure et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist.* iii., *Opp.* iii. 197; *Ibid. Dist.* iii., *Opp.* iii. 209, 210; *Ibid. Dist.* iv., *Opp.* iii. 244, 245.

¹ 'Ex hoc ergo clarescere potest . . . quod non res ficta vel frivola, non Arturi fabula, sicut insultat pars adversa,' sq.—*De Invect.* iii. 3; *Opp.* iii. 78.

species of insanity.¹ While the issue of the case throughout depended not so much upon its merits as upon the wishes of the English kings, it must at the same time be acknowledged that the arguments adduced in the controversy, in favour of a metropolitan at S. David's, only serve to bring out into clearer light not only that no such power had existed within living memory, but that no authenticated facts could be brought forward to indicate its having ever existed at all.²

The Liber Landavensis vaguely claims archiepiscopal jurisdiction for Llandaff, and in its notices of SS. David, Teilo, and Padarn, ranks Teilo as the first in dignity, and affirms that at Llandaff he exercised supremacy over all the churches of Southern Britain according to the appointment of the Fathers who consecrated him at Jerusalem.³

Similar
claims made
in favour of
Llandaff.

¹ 'Me senem fatuum atque delirum æmuli vocent, rodant, et lacerent, et latrare non cessent.'—Gir. Cambr., *De Lib. a se script.*; *Opp.* i. 417.

² Giraldus is obliged to acknowledge this in his *Retractations*: 'Cætera fere cuncta, veluti de enumeratione sedium episcopalium antiquitus Menevensi ecclesiæ suffraganeorum et subjectarum, necnon et de dignitate ejusdem ecclesiæ ac libertate tempore Wilfridi episcopi, sicut et de sedibus metropolitici Britannię Majoris . . . magis famam publicam et opinionem quam historiæ cujuspiam certitudinem sunt secuta.'—(*Retract.*, *Opp.* i. 426.)

³ P. 108. To reconcile the claims of Teilo with those of S. David, Professor Rees supposes that the Primacy was not at first attached to any particular See, but that it was transferred to the most

The episcopate during these centuries was in-
Episcopal variably conventual in character. Each see
monasteries. had its central monastic establishment, with
 a bishop attached to it.

But, besides these diocesan monastic centres, the
 country was covered with a network of religious
 houses, from which there radiated to the surrounding
Monastic district the humanising light of learning and
colleges. holiness of life. Of the greater number of
 them all records have been lost, nor have we but very
 scanty information respecting those whose names have
 been preserved.

On the banks of the Dee was the great monastery
 of Bangor Iscoed, noted for its missionary enterprise,
Bangor Is- as well as for its resistance to the English
coed. invaders. So great was the number of its
 monks that they were divided into seven parts, each
 containing no less than three hundred men, all living
 by manual labour.¹ Its patriotism was the cause of
 its destruction. In A.D. 613 Æthelfrith, the pagan
 king of Northumbria, before engaging in battle under
 the walls of Chester with the Welsh,² noticed a body
 eminent living bishop, and that Teilo on the death of S. David suc-
 ceeded him as archbishop, retaining his own diocese of Llandaff.
Welsh Saints, p. 244.

¹ Bæda, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 3.

² The unfairness of modern controversy is seldom seen in a worse
 light than when it attributes the invasion of Æthelfrith to a desire for
 revenge on the part of Augustine. The insinuation is made to rest

of men standing apart, in a safe place. Learning that they were the monks of Bangor Iscoed, who, after fasting for three days, had come to offer up their prayers for the soldiers of their country, the king ordered them to be attacked first: 'if they cry to their God against us,' said he, 'though they do not bear arms, they are fighting against us.' Only one hundred and fifty escaped; twelve hundred were killed, martyrs to their faith and patriotism.¹

upon Augustine's words of warning—that if they (the Welsh) would not preach the way of life to the English people, they would at their hands suffer the vengeance of death; and upon a statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi. 13), written more than 500 years after the event, that it was Æthelberht, king of Kent and the convert of S. Augustine, vexed with the Welsh for despising the preaching of S. Augustine, who stirred Æthelfrith to this invasion. It is a sufficient refutation that, according to Bæda, Augustine had been dead some years before the invasion: 'Ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato.' The genuineness of this passage has not been unquestioned, on the ground that it does not appear in Ælfred's *Saxon Translation*; it is to be found, however, in all the Latin MSS., without exception. Mabillon decides most unhesitatingly in favour of its genuineness: 'Quæ verba etsi prætermisit Aluredus in versione Saxonica . . . Bedæ tamen genuina esse, nec purgandi Augustini gratia a quoquam supposita testantur Latina exemplaria omnia, in quibus versus adductus legitur. Annus stragis Banchorensis incertus est, quamvis ex certa Bedæ auctoritate longe post S. Augustini obitum acciderit.'—*Actt. SS. Bened.* i. 509 n. We know from other sources that the date of Augustine's death cannot be placed later at furthest than A.D. 609. (See *infra*, p. 235.) It may be added that, as Æthelfrith was a pagan, it is difficult to see how he could have been influenced by a Christian bishop, much less by the Christian king of the rival kingdom of Kent.

¹ Disastrous as this battle was to the Welsh, the Annals notice the slaughter of the 'Saints' as its saddest feature. 'CLXIX Annus. Gueith Cair Legion: et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan.'—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H.

Bangor Deiniol, sometimes called Bangor Mawr in Britannia, to distinguish it from the Irish Bangor of Comgall. Its founder was Daniel, or Bangor Deiniol. Deiniol Wyn. Maelgwn Gwynedd endowed this monastery with lands and privileges. Its importance will appear from the circumstance that it was to the joint guardianship of the 'cloister,' or community of Bangor, and of that of Beuno, that the Venedotian code of the Laws of Howel Dda entrusted the fourteen civil privileges of the men of Arfon.¹

The monastery of Beuno at Clynnog Fawr in Carnarvonshire. Beuno was the son of Hywgi, or Clynnog Fawr. Bugi ap Gwynlliw Filwr, and Perfferen, daughter of Llawddyn Llueddawg. Cadwallon, the son of Cadfan, gave Beuno a place in Arfon called Gwardawc; but one day, as he was superintending the building of a church on this site, a woman with a child in her arms claimed the land as the property of the child's father. Beuno immediately demanded of the king some other land or the gold sceptre which he had given in exchange. But the haughty king returned an arrogant answer.

B. 831). 'A.D. 613. Cath. Cairelegion ubi sancti occisi sunt; et cecidit Solin McConian rex Bretannorum, et Cetula rex cecidit ibi, Etalfraid victor erat, qui postea statim obiit.'—*Ann. Tigern.* (O'Conor, ii. 182). An. 612 (613). 'Bellum Caire legion, ubi sancti occisi sunt, et cecidit Solon mac Conaen rex Britannorum.'—*Ann. Ulton.* (O'Conor, iv. 39.) The date 607 for the battle (M. H. B. 306) is evidently an error.

¹ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i. p. 106.

‘And Beuno became angry, and said, “I ask of God that thou shalt not long possess the land;” and Beuno went away and left him under a curse.’ To appease the saint and to avert the threatened punishment, Cadwallon’s cousin went after Beuno, and, overtaking him on the banks of the Seiont, pressed upon his acceptance the township of Celynauc, ‘without rent or service or any one possessing or claiming it.’¹

Caergybi, a monastery called after the name of the founder. According to his Life (twelfth century), Caergybi. of which two copies are extant, but with few variations except of a verbal nature,² Cybi was of Cornish parentage. His father was Salomon the son of Erbin, who was the son of Geraint the son of Lud. At the age of seven he began to study, and, when grown up, went to Jerusalem, and to Hilary,³ bishop of Poitiers, with whom he remained

¹ *Buchedd Beuno Sant* in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 13–21.

² Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* 38. The *MS. Cott. Vespas.*, A. xiv., ff. 83–85, of which the other (ff. *b*, 93*b*) seems to be an abridgment, is printed in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 183–187; and, abridged, in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 203, 204.

³ S. Hilary died about A.D. 368, and Maelgwn Gwynedd in 547; ‘CIII Annus. . . . in qua pausat Mailcun rex Genedotæ.’—*Ann. Camb.* (M. H. B. 831). To remove the anachronism involved in making S. Cybi a contemporary with S. Hilary, Rees (*Welsh Saints*, p. 214) supposes that there is a confusion of names here arising from the circumstance, that S. Hilary and a saint in Anglesey, contemporary with S. Cybi, were known to the Welsh under the same name of *Elian*.

twenty years. Returning to Cornwall, he sails from thence to Ireland and builds a church there on the isle of Arum. Molested by an Irish chieftain, he comes to Anglesey, where Maelgwn Gwynedd gives him a tract of land over which a goat had fled when chased by the royal hounds. A local tradition has been preserved that Seiriol and Cybi used to meet half way between Holyhead and Penmon, and that as Cybi, whether going or returning, had the sun in his face, but Seiriol travelled westward in the morning and eastward in the evening, they came to be called Seiriol Wyn a Chybi Felyn—Seiriol the Fair and Cybi the Tawny.¹

Enlli. This monastery was founded by Cadfan,²

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 267.

² He was a Breton, the son of Eneas Ledewig and Gwentairbron, the daughter of Emyr Llydaw.—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 266. He was the founder of the churches of Tywyn in Merionethshire, and Llangadfan, Montgomeryshire.—Rees, *Welsh SS.* 214. A rude stone pillar, about seven feet high, said to have been standing in the churchyard of Tywyn, over what is considered the grave of S. Cadvan, but now inside the church, bears the following inscription :

✱ Tengrugimalcelgu	{ = (in modern Welsh) Tan grug yma cel Cadfan —marc. (Beneath this mound is the body of Cadfan— the mark.)
adgan	
mar C	

The correctness of this reading and interpretation by Messrs. Westwood and Ab Ithel (*Arch. Camb.* for 1850, pp. 90–107) has since been questioned. Professor Rhys would read Adgan for Cadvan, and discerning traces of the former presence of an *n* finishing the line would substitute the proper name Marciaun for the obviously wrongly conjectured term ‘Marciau,’ which could not be Welsh of the ninth century. *Ibid.* No. xix. p. 243 (1874).

who was its first bishop, with the help of Einion Frenhin. The spot became famous as a Enlli. burial-place of Saints, and its sanctity was considered so great that a pilgrimage thrice made thither was equal to a pilgrimage even to Rome. The road to Heaven and the gate of Paradise are some of the titles given to it by the Welsh bards.

Llanelwy. This religious house was inhabited by nine hundred and sixty-five monks, three hundred of whom, being illiterate, cultivated the Llanelwy. fields, three hundred attended to the domestic work of the monastery, and the remaining three hundred and sixty-five were engaged day and night in divine worship.¹

Paulinus (Pawl Hên), who appears to have been a North Briton and according to Rhyddmarch a pupil of S. Germanus,² founded the monastery of Ty-gwyn ar Dâf. Ty-gwyn ar Dâf or Whitland in Carmarthenshire. Both SS. David and Teilo are said to have resorted thither to study the Scriptures under Paulinus.³ A bishop, but without a see, he is represented to have attended the synod of Llanddewi Brefi.⁴

¹ *V. S. Kentigerni*, c. xxv.—Pinkerton's *Vita SS. Scot.* p. 250.

² *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 122.

³ *Ibid.* 122. *Lib. Landav.* 94.

⁴ 'Episcoporum quidam Paulinus dictus.'—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 137. He is the patron saint of the Church of Llangors, Brecknock-

The three great monastic establishments of Llandaff were Llancarfan, founded by S. Cadoc;¹ Llandaff, Caerworgorn (Lantwit-Major), by S. Illtyd;² Llandaff, Caerworgorn, Docwinni. and that of Docwinni,³ by S. Cyngar or Docwinnus.

shire, and of Capel Peulin, Carmarthenshire.—Rees, *Welsh SS.* 187. A stone, now for preservation at Dolau Cothi—found at Pant y Polion, in the parish of Caio, close to Llanddewi Brefi, has this inscription :

SERUATUR FIDAEI
PATRIQUE SEMPER
AMATOR HIC PAULIN
US JACIT CULTOR PIENTI
SIMUS AEQUI.

¹ S. Cadoc, generally known as Cattwg Ddoeth, was the eldest son of Gwynlliw Filwr (Gundenis) and of Gwladys (Guladusa), daughter of a certain regulus called Brychan. His genealogies are eminently absurd, tracing him on the father's side to Augustus Cæsar, and on his mother's side, through her father, to Biscetback, an Irish king, and through her mother to Anna, niece of the Virgin Mary. His Life from *MS. Cott. Vespas. A. xiv. ff. 17-33* is printed in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 22-96 ; in a shorter form (from *Ibid. ff. 33-42b*) in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 52-54, and from thence in the *Actt. SS.* ii. 602, January 24. He is considered the founder of fourteen churches, all confined to South Wales (Rees, *Welsh SS.* 177).

² S. Illtyd was the son of a Breton named Bican, 'miles famosissimus, illustris genere, et in armis militaribus,' who married Reingulid, daughter of King Anblad. His Life is extant in three MSS., 'Vita S. Iltuti Abbatis,' in *Cott. Vespas. A. xiv. ff. 426-52*, printed in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 158-192 ; and 'De Sancto Iltuto,' in *Cott. Tiber. E. i. ff. 274-275b* ; and in *Bodl. Tanner*, 15, f. 34, printed in John of Tinmouth's *Sanctilogium*, and in Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 187, 188. The two last MSS. seem to be an abridgment of the first MS. His name is associated with several churches and chapels in Wales, one of which only is in North Wales, viz. Llanelltyd in Merionethshire.

³ The situation of this monastery cannot be identified ; it has been supposed to have been Congresbury in Glamorganshire. Achau y Saint speak of his having founded a congregation at a place in that county, known in the time of the compiler by the name of Llangeny.

In addition to general causes, predisposing to the spread of monasticism, whether regard be had to the state of society at its origin, or to the tendency implanted in the human mind to attempt to solve the dark problems of life by mystic meditation, cenobitical institutions had another powerful ally in Wales in its tribal organisation. There is no feature more characteristic of the early Welsh Saints than their connection with the kings or chieftains of the country.¹ Their conversion therefore was naturally followed by that of their clansmen, and as they almost all embraced the monastic life, the corporate feeling of the clan passed by easy transition into the monastic form, the chieftain continuing in the religious character of the abbot to be still regarded as the head of his dependents.² This will explain the number of resi-

Welsh tribes or clans often transformed into monastic foundations, the chief becoming the abbot.

‘Vita S. Cungiari’ or Docwinni (Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 80) represents him as contemporary with both Dubricius and King Ine !

¹ Most of the Welsh Saints are represented as descended from one of the three Holy Families of Britain ; these were ‘Gwelygordd Bran Fendigaid ap Llyr Llediaith . . . ; Ail Gwelygordd Cynedda Wledig . . . ; Trydydd ydoedd Brychan Brycheiniog.’—*Myfyr. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 61.

² The reason assigned for the great number maintained at the expense of S. Cadoc is, ‘Abbas enim erat et princeps super Gunluc progenitorem a Fynnon Hen, scilicet, a fonte aliquo usque ad ostium Rymni fluminis, totumque territorium possidebat ab amne Gulich, usque Nadaun flumen,’ sq.—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 45.

The clan character of Celtic monasticism is strikingly illustrated in the history of Columba’s Rule at Hi. The founder and first abbot,

dents at particular monasteries¹ as well as the secret of their influence and discipline. The fruit of this semi-secular organisation was not an unmixed good. The monks were tempted to interfere in intestine strifes, and the epoch which immediately preceded the English invasion was characterised by civil

S. Columba, was the son of Fedlimidh of the clan of Conall Gulban, which occupied and gave its name to the territory surrounding Gartan in the present county of Donegal. S. Columba was succeeded as abbot by Baithene, his first cousin. Laisren, the third abbot, was a son of Feradhach, who also was a first cousin of S. Columba. Fergna Brit, the fourth in succession, was a great-grandson of Rodaige, who again was the grandson of Enna Boghaine, the brother of Fergus Cennfada, S. Columba's grandfather. With the exception of Suibhne (sixth abbot), whose pedigree is uncertain, we do not find, until we come to Conamhail, the tenth abbot in succession, an abbot whose descent can be referred to a different house from that of Conall Gulban. Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* (Skene's ed. pp. 282, 283.)

¹ This populousness was still greater in the Irish monasteries; Clonard, Bangor, and the parochia of S. Brendan counted, each, three thousand monks :—

‘Trium virorum millium
Sorte fit doctor humilis;
Verbi his fudit fluvium
Ut fons emanans rivulis.’

(Officium B. Finiani, in Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 401.)

‘Tria (millia) fuisse refert S. Euinus in vita S. Coemgelli, c. 13, ubi de S. Comgello loquens ait, “constituitque magnum monasterium, quod vocatur Benchor . . . ; et maxima multitudo monachorum illuc venit ad S. Comgallum, ut non potuissent esse in uno loco ; et inde plurimas cellas et multa monasteria non solum in regione Ultorum, sed per alias Hiberniæ Provincias, et in diversis cellis et monasteriis tria millia monachorum sub cura S. Patris Comgelli erant : sed major et nominatior cæteris locis prædictum monasterium Benchor est.”’—Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 192, col. 1. ‘Trium millium monachorum Pater (S. Brendanus), ut Regule monasticæ ab Angelo dictatæ, conditor ut habent Acta.’—*Ibid.* *Actt. SS.* 192, col. 2.

rivalries and enmities in which the clergy played a conspicuous part, passionately throwing themselves into tribal quarrels, and thus imparting to the struggle the bitterness of almost a religious war.

Among the many services which monasticism rendered to British Christianity, its missionary zeal and success stand pre-eminent. To their freedom from family ties should be ascribed the great love of the Celtic monks for travel and enterprise. Between Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Brittany there was a constant ebb and flow of missionaries. From Wales and Cornwall, where, under the pressure of the English, British Christianity had concentrated itself, bands of devoted men were ever passing over to Brittany¹ in the South and to Ireland² in the West. From

The monastic spirit the cause of the great missionary zeal of the British Churches.

¹ Among those who are traditionally said to have migrated to Brittany are SS. Brioc, 'ex gente Corriticiana' (*Actt. SS.* i. 91, May 1), Winwaloc, 'regia stirpe nobilitatis venam trahens' (Capgrave, *N. L. A.* 312; and *Actt. SS.* 245-260, March 3), Maglorius, 'cujus spectabilis genitor Umbrafel, mater vero Affrella vocabatur' (Mabill. *Actt. Bened.* i. 209), Samson, 'pater ejus Demetiano ex genere . . . et ejus mater Dementia, provincia proxima ejusdem Demetiæ' (*Ibid.* i. 155, 156), Maclovius, 'gloriosus Christi confessor' (*Ibid. Sac.* i. 177), and Paul Aurelian, 'clarissimi Britonum viri filius' (*Actt. SS.* ii. 108, March 12).

² The thirty-one bishops who, chosen by S. Patrick, formed in Ireland the first order of saints, were 'de Romanis et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis exorti' (*Catal. SS. Hibern.* ap Ussher, vi. 478). S. Mochta, of Louth, is described by Adamnan as 'quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, Sancti Patricii Episcopi discipulus' (*V. S. Columb. Secunda Præfatio*, Reeves, p. 107). In the *Septima Vita S. Patricii*

Brittany, again, multitudes of Saints, like a swarm from a beehive, issued forth at times,¹ born in other Celtic lands, but eager to carry back the sweetness and light which they had first received from Britain. Palladius. In the evangelisation of Ireland the first missionary was Palladius, a monk and probably a Breton, sent in the character of a bishop by Pope Cœlestine to organise the Church among the believing Scoti.² Landing in the territory of the Hy Garchon in Wicklow, he built a few churches there; but finding that he was not well received, he left the country, and sailing round the coast northward, he was driven by a storm to modern Scotland, where he died, having founded a church

he is said to have been his 'Archi-presbyter' (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 167a). Carantoc, who shared with S. Patrick the work of converting Ireland, was the son of Ceredig, 'quo nemo inter reges Britannorum alcior habetur' (*V. S. Carantoci, Cambro-Brit. SS.* 97).

¹ 'Nam sicut hiemale alvearium, arridente vere animos extollens, et augende populi prudenter insistens, aliud primum precipuumque foras emittit examen, ut alibi mellificet; ita Letavia, accrescente serenitate religionis, caterva sanctorum ad originem unde exierunt, transmittit sub ducibus Hetinlau, Catman, Titechon. . . . Paternum secuntur octingenti quadraginta septem monachi.'—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 189, 190.

² 'Basso et Antiocho coss. Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Cœlestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur.'—Prosper, *Chron. ad Ann.* 435. (Migne's *Patrologia*, tom. xxvii. col. 717-718.) With this agrees the Life of S. Patrick, by Muirchu Maccumachtheni, 'Certe enim erat quod Palladius archidiaconus Papæ Cœlestini urbis Romæ episcopi . . . ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore (? frigore) possitam convertendam.'—*B. of Armagh*, fol. 2a, a.

at Fordun in the district of Mearns.¹ Hence it came to be an Irish proverb, 'Not to Palladius, but

¹ The Scholia in *Hymn. Fiechi* (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 5), an authority, according to Colgan, not later than about the close of the sixth century ('videtur floruisse circa annum 580 vel saltem ante sæculi sexti finem.'—*Ibid. Notæ in Scholiastic. S. Fieci*), and S. Patrick's Life by Muirchu Maccumachtheni (*B. of Armagh*, fol. 2a, a), and the Annotations of Tirechan (not later than the eighth century), (*B. of Armagh*, fol. 16a, a) testify to the ill-success of the mission of Palladius to Ireland, the latter representing him on the authority of 'sancti antiqui' as having been martyred by the Scoti. The North British traditions in John of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (lib. iii. 8, 9) and the Breviary of Aberdeen ignore the visit to Ireland, and dwell only on the extent and success of his labours in Scotland. In the Calendar of the Breviary the 6th of July is designated as the day of 'Palladii episcopi et confessoris apostolici Scotorum,' while the collect describes him as 'pontificem et fidei Catholicæ apostolum pariter et doctorem.' According to this same authority, S. Palladius, having associated S. Serf as suffragan with himself, died in peace full of days: 'Et quia tante genti mysteria pastoralia solus impendere non sufficebat, beatum Servanum . . . in omni Scotorum gente suum constituit suffroganeum.'—*Pars Æstiv.* xvi. 6. 'Tandem beatus Palladius variis per eundem miraculis divinitus ostensis annorum plenus apud Langforcund in Mernis in pace requievit beata.'—*Lectio* vi. xxv b. To lessen some of the difficulties involved in this discrepancy between the early Irish and the later North British traditions, M. Varin comes to the conclusion that the mission of Palladius was really organised with a view to the Christian Scoti already settled upon the western shores of modern Scotland, and that the visit to Ireland was of a temporary and tentative nature. 'Par toutes ces raisons, ne devient-il pas d'une vraisemblance bien supérieure à celle dont l'école irlandaise a voulu réunir les éléments, que Palladius dut être député vers la Grande-Bretagne, où la foi périlait, au sud par l'hérésie, au nord par le mauvais vouloir des Bretons; que, témoin du danger, il interrompit une prédication fructueuse qui l'avait absorbé chez les Scots, et dut venir solliciter à Rome des collaborateurs, en désignant ceux auxquels il croyait le plus de chance de succès; et qu'enfin, au moment de reprendre sa mission interrompue, Célestin le récompensa de ses premiers travaux en lui conférant l'épiscopat?'—*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Première Série, tom. v. 127, 128.

to Patrick God granted the conversion of Ireland.'¹

S. Patrick assisted in the conversion of Ireland by British missionaries. The three Orders of Irish SS.

On learning the failure of Palladius, S. Patrick undertook the mission. He was assisted therein by British and other monks. Subsequent traditions ranked the members of

this mission in the first of three orders as the most holy, shining like the sun, exclusively bishops.² When again there was an *apostasia*, or a decay of religion,³ another mission was organised under

¹ 'Huic (Palladio) fructuosiori legatione et labore Patricius sanctus successit, quia ut Hibernico proverbio dicitur, non Palladio sed Patricio Dominus convertendam Hiberniam concessit.'—*Sexta Vit. S. Patricii*, ap. Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* 70.

² 'Primus ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii, et tunc erant Episcopi omnes clari et sancti. . . . Nota quod primus ordo erat Sanctus Sanctissimus, secundus Sanctior, tertius Sanctus. Primus sicut Sol in fervore claritatis calescit, secundus sicut luna pallescit, tertius sicut aura splendescit.'—*Catal. SS. Hibern.* in Ussher, vi. 478. 'Catalogum istum edidit ex duobus codicibus membraneis Usserius, itemque Flemingus, qui de istis codicibus inquit, unum pertinuisse ad ecclesiam Ardmachanam vel Dublienses, alterum ad monasterium "*Insulæ omnium Sanctorum*" in Lacu Rioch.'—O'Connor, tom. ii. p. 162.

³ The great falling away from the faith which took place after the preaching of S. Patrick is assigned as the reason for invoking the aid of the Welsh Saints: 'Quia pene Catholicam fidem in ipsa insula omnes reliquerant.' . . . 'Quia penitus Catholicam fidem a maximo usque ad minimum omnes amiserant.'—*V. S. Gildæ*, xi, xii. in Mabill. *Actt. Bened.* i. 133. It is alluded to in 'Officium B. Finiani, in Secundo Nocturno Lectione vi. : 'Tandem Romam meditati in Hiberniam reditum Angelus Domini suasit, ad fidem post B. Patricii obitum neglectam restaurendam' sq.—Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 401. Also in the prophecy of a period of apostasy which Annichan or Animosus, in his Life of S. Bridget, writing after the event, attributes to S. Patrick: 'In fine vero seculi mali doctores malis hominibus consentientes venient, qui nostram doctrinam vertent, et pæne omnes homines seducent.'—*Ibid. Tr. Thaum.* xxvii. 554.

the guidance of SS. David, Cadoc, and Gildas,¹ between whom and the Irish Saints there had been the most intimate and frequent intercourse, the more distinguished of the latter constantly resorting to Kilmuni (S. David's) and Llancarvan for instruction and encouragement.² To these three British Saints, the second Order of Irish Saints,³ shining

¹ Vide supra, p. 109.

² 'Cumque apud civitatem Kilmunenses in Britannia applicuissent' (i.e. S. Finnianus et mercatores), 'ibi Sanctus Finnianus tres viros sanctos S. David et S. Cathmaelum' (S. Cadoc's baptismal name in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 25) 'et S. Gildam invenit.'—*V. S. Finniani*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 393. Another visitor to S. David's, remaining there for a long time, was S. Moedoc: 'De finibus illis S. Moedoc ad Britanniam nauigavit ad Beatum David Episcopum civitatis quæ dicitur Kill-muine: mansitque apud eum multo tempore.'—*V. S. Moidoci, seu Moedici*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 209; also in *V. S. Aidui, Cambro-Brit. SS.* 235. Scarcely a name recurs more frequently in the hagiology of Ireland and Wales than that of S. Ædth, for such was the saint's original name, which by the addition of the Irish diminutive suffix *og* and of the honorific prefix of the pronoun *mo* became Mo-aedh-og or Moidoc, &c. In the *Felise of Aengus* at January 31, he is described as

'Slaind Aed fortren Ferna,'

Name Aedh the powerful of Ferna.

(Quoted in *Kalendars of Scottish SS.*, by Bishop Forbes, p. 403).

To these two great names of SS. Finnian and Ædth, and of several others, may be added S. Molagga or Molac (Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 147); S. Barri, 'fidelissimus ille abbas Hibernensium' (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 132); Cannech or Canice, who, however, studied at the monastery of the wise and most religious S. Docus (Dr. Todd, *Life of S. Patrick*, p. 100); and S. Senanus. Of the last it is said that 'Apud quem' (S. Davidum) 'postquam aliquamdiu versaretur, discedens ab eo accepit proprium S. Davidis baculum, in amicitiae et confraternitatis pignus.'—*Actt. SS.* March 8. i. 772.

³ This Order may be regarded as the development of a native ministry, of a more national character than that of their predecessors, and more intimately associated with the customs and condition of the

like the moon and consisting mainly of priests, owe their origin. To this Order afterwards belonged S. Columba, whose monastic rule extended at one time over all England, north of the Trent.¹ It was his spiritual descendants who, when the light of Christianity was extinguished in Northumbria and East Anglia, and nothing remained of the labours of S. Augustine and his coadjutors but the metropolis and the abbey at Canterbury, resumed the work² and eventually completed the difficult task of the conversion of the English people. ✓

Moreover, in measuring the value of British monasticism as a thing of virtue and use in the fifth and sixth centuries, due weight should be attached to the grand spectacle it presented of the superiority of moral power to physical force.

Monasticism
an invaluable
counterpoise
to the brutal
violence of
the times.

country.—Reeves, Adamn. *V. S. Columb.* Introduct. p. c. Its characteristics were, ‘*Pauci episcopi, et multi presbyteri; . . . diversas missas celebrabant, et diversas regulas; unum Pascha xiv Luna post æquinoctium; unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem; abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis.*’—*Catal. SS. Hibern.*, Ussher, vi. 478.

¹ In the old Irish Life of S. Columba (probably as old as the tenth century) the number of churches founded by him is said to have been very great: ‘*Tri ced do roraind cen mannair,*’ ‘three hundred he marked out, without defect.’—Reeves, Adamn. *V. S. Columb.* Introduct. xlix. In Adamnan’s second preface he is called ‘*monasteriorum pater et fundator.*’—*Ibid.* 106. Mention is also made (*Ibid.* ii. 47, p. 191) of his ‘*monasteria intra utrorumque populorum*’ (sc. Pictorum et Scottorum Britanniae) ‘*terminos fundata.*’ Of these, Dr. Reeves has identified the sites of 37 in Ireland, 32 among the Scots, and 24 among the Picts.—*Ibid.* Introduct. xlix–lxxi., and notes to Introduct. p. 228.

² Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3.

It was from a profound conviction of the protecting help of the monks, and their utter disregard of either the favour or the resentment of the great, that cities and towns confided to their care their charters of liberty. When ministering at the deathbed of the rich and powerful, they never neglected to urge the dying man, 'for the remedy of his soul' as it was then called, to will the freedom of the servile members of his household. It would be difficult to measure the worth to the world, in an epoch of brutal violence, of men whose life upheld the belief in the true nobility of suffering for purity and righteousness' sake, in the God who watches it and who will bring to it the recompense at the last. Herein was a power, which no human law could exercise, to restrain the lawlessness of an oppressor, and to mitigate the despair of his helpless dependent. No one thought himself entirely defenceless so long as he could invoke against the strong the curse of God and of the cowled heads. When Winifred, the daughter of Pernic, refused to gratify the criminal desires of Caradog, the king in his rage, overtaking her at the door of the church as she tried to escape, cut off her head with his sword. The father and mother beheld the deed, but overcome with fear uttered no remonstrance; but S. Beuno, who was present, looking in the face of the king, fearlessly said, 'I pray God that He will not spare thee, and

will not respect thee more than thou hast respected this good maiden.' 'And in that hour,' the hagiographer adds, 'the king melted into a pool, and was no more seen in this world.'¹ A similar fearlessness in defending the innocent and punishing the wrongdoer is narrated of S. Gildas. 'A certain tyrant of the name of Conomerus, or Commorus, was in the habit of murdering his wives. When his neighbours discovered this, they naturally refused to give him their daughters in marriage. At length Werocus was persuaded to allow him to marry his daughter, but only on the condition that S. Gildas should pledge his word for her safety. After a time the wife, suspecting that her husband was meditating her death also, fled from him, but he traced her steps to a heap of dead leaves, under which she lay concealed, and severed her head from her body. The unhappy father, when he was told of this, sent to S. Gildas, reproaching him as the cause of his daughter's death. "Give me back my child," said he, "for it was at thy entreaty that I consented to what has been her death." The holy man, much grieved, went to the castle where the tyrant dwelt; but the murderer, dreading his righteous anger, refused to admit him, while others mocked him as he stood without, knocking at the door. At last S. Gildas prayed, if the man amended not his life, that God

¹ *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 16, 17.

would put an end to his wickedness. He then went around the castle, and taking a handful of dust threw it over the place, and immediately, God so willing it, the whole habitation fell down, a heap of ruins.' ¹ This protection of the weak was extended even to the animal world.² 'On a certain day a stag, almost hunted down by the hounds of King Meirchion, sought refuge in the chamber of S. Illtyd, and lay down at the feet of its admirer. The king angrily demanded the stag; the saint would not give it up, but granted leave to him to come in if he wished to accept it. The king was afraid, and seeing the very great piety of the most blessed man and such great miracles performed for him in his presence, he would not enter, but bestowed upon him his first gift, given from God, which he gratefully

Kindness
and pity of
monks
towards the
brute
creation.

¹ *V. S. Gildæ* in *Mabill. Actt. Bened.* xx-xxiv. 135, 136. See also Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. xxv. However large a margin we leave for the legendary colouring of such incidents, enough is left to testify to the sympathy of the monk with the oppressed and to his effectual interference in their behalf.

² An affecting incident, showing the mutual sympathy that existed between the monks and the irrational creation, is narrated by Adamnan: 'It was the last day in the life of S. Columba, when as the Saint, bowed down with age, sat down to rest himself, a white pack-horse belonging to the monastery came up to him, and laying its head on his breast uttered a plaintive cry, as if conscious of the approaching death of its master. The servant seeing this was about to drive it away, but the Saint forbade him, saying, "Suffer, suffer the poor animal that is so fond of me to pour out his bitter wail into my bosom." And saying this, the Saint blessed the horse, which turned away from him in sadness.'—*V. S. Columb.* lib. iii. c. xxiv.

accepted. Afterwards, this stag, tamed by holy Illtyd, drew carriages and timber for building.’¹

Sometimes indeed, in the history of British monasticism, we come upon instances where the system seems to have crushed out the tenderest ties of wedded and kindred love.² These painful incidents, however, if we would do justice to the monastic element, must

The monks’ suppression of the natural affections issuing in an inner freedom of the human will and in the creation of Christian heroism.

be regarded as part of the discipline through which the vigorous animal temperament of the Western races had to pass, before it could attain to the enjoyment of the purity and spiritual beauty of the family life of subsequent ages. The discipline was over-severe for the time, but there is eternity before humanity in which to reap its fruit. In the belief in the reality of a separate life on the part of each individual soul in God, it has left behind a direct residual influence, which inspiring great and noble resolves enters largely into every costly act of human self-renouncement. But to bring about this result, the soul had for a time to break loose from the trammels which not merely the body, but the family affections also, would cast around it, resisting and choking the volition of the higher part of our complex being. It was no unreal danger, considering that the virtues

¹ *V. S. Illtuti*, in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 164.

² *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 149, 150, 171, 172.

and graces which Christianity holds in the highest esteem are of the gentler and more patient order, that the new spiritual life might prove of too feminine a type to succeed in a world of iron and of blood in the formation of Christian society. Monasticism, in its ascetic aspect, was war indeed not only against the sensuous part of our nature, but even against the most legitimate cravings of the human heart, but it was waged, successfully, with a view to their mastery and subsequent legitimate use. Hence it now comes to pass that when the pleadings of domestic tenderness and human love are in danger of leading us astray, there is in Christian men a certain corrective force of feeling in reserve to plead the superiority of the general interests of humanity over the littlenesses of self-love.¹ It is the glory of Christ's religion to have worked out at length for man this result, namely, that the most exalted saintliness, the most absorbing spiritual affection, do not in any way destroy or hinder our pure earthly love, so that Saints do not learn to love God above all things through lack of love to others, but rather by loving others better than themselves and God better than all. It would be difficult to conceive a more perfect blending than we find in

¹ A very able article on this aspect of monastic asceticism, to which I am indebted for suggesting much of the above, appeared in the *Spectator* for May 8, 1869, under the title of 'Mr. Lecky's Estimate of Christian Asceticism.'

S. Bernard of the most passionate affection for his dead brother with submission to the will of God. There is no attempt on his part to silence the agonising cry of the heart, but when sorrow has had its due, he thankfully bends to the will of a Father who doth not willingly afflict, and almost rejoices in its fulfilment.¹

There have been three different stages in the growth of the monastic system.² During the first, which extended to about A.D. 250, ascetic exercises were cultivated amidst the ordinary duties and activities of the world. But in the third century the religious life passed into another phase, when its members retired into solitude, far from the haunts of men. Of this eremi-

Three steps
in the His-
tory of Mo-
nasticism :
1. Ascetics ;
2. Eremites ;
3. Cœno-
bites.

¹ 'Quis ita mihi pernecessarius? Cui æque dilectus ego? Frater erat genere, sed religione germanior. Dolete, quæso, vicem meam vos, quibus hæc nota sunt. Infirmus corpore eram, et ille portabat me; pusillus corde eram, et confortabat me; piger et negligens, et excitabat me; improvidus et obliviosus, et commonebat me. Quo mihi avulsus es? Quo mihi raptus e manibus, homo unanims, homo secundum cor meum? Amavimus nos in vita: quomodo in morte sumus separati? Amarissima separatio! et quam non posset omnino efficere nisi mors. Quando enim me vivus vivum desereres? Omnino opus mortis, horrendum divortium.' 'Et adhuc dico: Bene utrumque fecit dulcis et rectus Dominus. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine. Cantet tibi misericordia, quam fecisti cum servo tuo Girardo: cantet et iudicium, quod nos portamus. In altero bonus, in altero justus laudaberis. An solius laus bonitatis? Est et iustitiæ. *Iustus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.* Girardum tu dedisti, Girardum tu abstulisti: et si dolemus ablatum, non tamen obliviscimur quod datus fuit, et gratias agimus quod habere illum meruimus, quo carere in tantum non volumus, in quantum non expedit.' Sermo xxvi. (Migne, *Patrologia*, clxxxiii. col. 905, 912).

² Bingham, *Antiq.* vii. 1, 2.

tical life S. Paul of Thebes is considered the founder. This again, under the influence of S. Antony, was transformed into the Cœnobitic. Then came Pachomius, who gathered his followers into regular communities governed by a written fixed rule. Under this new form monasticism spread rapidly over the entire East, S. Basil, its recognised legislator, showing his preference for Cœnobites rather than Anchorites. 'For,' said he to a hermit, 'whose feet wilt thou wash? whom wilt thou serve? how canst thou be the last if thou art alone?' Introduced into the West, monasticism under various influences¹ assumed a more active form. It seems probable that the Egyptian rule, according to the institutes of Pachomius, was that at first professed by the British monks. Owing, however, to the great sympathy between the Gallican and British Churches, the system of S. Martin, first at Liguge and afterwards at Marmoutier, near Tours, became the model of British monasticism, but with the important addition to its discipline of the vow of labour. The monasteries were generally established at places like

¹ The most potent of these influences may be reckoned as three in number: (1) Conditions of race and character; (2) The legislative qualities of SS. Benedict and Columba; and (3) 'The barbarian invasions and the dissolution of the Western Empire, which, distorting the whole system of government and almost resolving society into its primitive elements, naturally threw upon the monastic corporations social, political, and intellectual functions of the highest order.'—Lecky's *History of European Morals*, ii. 189.

S. David's in South Wales or Clynnog Fawr in Carnarvonshire, whose remote and solitary situations¹ were supposed to tend to the withdrawal of the mind from the cares and vanities of the world. The inmates do not seem to be bound by any irrevocable vow to live always in the monastery,² for one note especially characteristic of all the Celtic monks is their distant and frequent journeying. Europe and even Asia³

¹ It is probably owing to the Cistercian habit of choosing situations of especial amenity that the modern notion has arisen, that all the monastic orders were impressed with the beauty of the external world, and considered the site of their foundations a matter of paramount importance. 'The older Benedictine houses had either been planted in towns, or else a town had grown around the monastic precincts. The Cistercians of set purpose lived in the wilderness, and for the most part they pitched their dwellings in spots of great natural beauty.' (Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. v. ch. xxiii. p. 233).

² The permission of the head of the monastery, judging from the Irish rule, seems to have been necessary to a lengthened absence. 'Quidam vir sanctus, nomine Molua, venit ad S. Moedoc, dicens, volo adire Roman peregrinatione. Ait ei Episcopus, non habebis meam licentiam. S. Molua respondit, certe si non videro Romam, cito moriar. Tunc assumpsit eum secum S. Moedoc in curru, et non apparuerunt suis usque in crastinum; et visum est S. Moluæ quod essent in illa nocte in Roma et soluerit sua vota ibi ad limina Apostolorum' (*V. S. Maidoci*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* xlii. p. 213). S. Columba is represented as prophesying of Cormac Ua Liathain, that he should not succeed in his voyage of discovery, because 'he went away, against rule, without the consent of a certain religious abbot, his superior.'—Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* lib. i. 6. Cf. *Synod. S. Patricii*, can. xxxiv. : 'Diaconus vobiscum similiter qui inconsulto suo abbate sine literis in aliam parochiam absentat, nec cibum ministrare debet, et a suo presbytero, quem contempsit per pœnitentiam vindicetur, et monachus inconsulto abbate vagulus debet vindicari.'—Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 3.

³ Palladius, *Hist. Lausiac.* cxviii. (A.D. 420, but writing of the years before 410), speaks of Melania the elder entertaining British

sufficed not to exhaust their love of travel and enterprise. When in the eleventh century the Norsemen landed in Greenland, they were told by the Esquimaux that southward of their country, beyond the bay of Chesapeake, 'white men might be seen, clothed in long white robes, who marched singing and bearing a banner.'¹ The British monastic rule of life embraced voluntary poverty, labour, reading, prayer, and works of charity, and at first was in food, dress, and demeanour unsparingly ascetic.² In the matter of

pilgrims at Jerusalem. Theodoret, *Philoth.* xxvi. (speaking probably of A.D. 423), tells us that many Britons came to Pelanissus, near Antioch, to visit Simeon Stylites.—*Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 14. The circumstances in both instances indicate that the travellers were mainly if not exclusively monks.

¹ Ozanam, *La Civilisation au Cinquième Siècle*, i. pp. 28, 29. The voyages of S. Brendan in quest of 'The Fortunate Islands,' embodying as they probably do an historical residuum, are among the most popular of the legends of the middle ages, and are briefly touched upon in the *Brev. Aberd.* pars hyem. fol. lxxxxviii. This love of travel grew to so great a height that it became necessary to discourage it: 'Item alio tempore sancti tres viri, scilicet Cathmælus, Finnianus, et Bithæus, proposuerunt Romam causa peregrinationis adire. Quibus Angelus Domini in itinere talia fertur dixisse: Redite ad vestras plebes; Deus enim acceptat intentionem vestram. Et ait S. Finnianus: Quid mihi cælicola a Deo meo pro hoc donabitur? Et respondit Angelus: Altare ædificabis, et quicumque illud devote adierit, quodcunque ibi petierit pura mente, inveniet ibi petitionem quam Romæ inveniret' (*V. S. Finiani*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* ix. 394).

² 'Talem cenobialis propositi fervore rigorem sanctus decrevit pater, ut monachorum quisque cotidiano desudans operi manuum suam in commune transigeret vitam. . . . Igitur impensorum studio, pede manumque laborant. . . . Possessiones respuunt, divitias detestantur. . . . Peracto autem rurali opere, ad monasterii claustra revertentes, aut legendo aut scribendo aut orando, totam ad vespere peragebant diem. Infirmis tunc vel etate provectis, vel etiam

food there does not seem to have been for ages any remission of the severity of the original discipline. It is only when we come to the ninth century that we hear of Bishop Morgeneu, who departed so far from the hitherto unbroken self-denial of his predecessors as to eat meat, and who was killed by the Danes, a punishment, it is implied, for his sinful indulgence. Giraldus Cambrensis represents the consciousness of his sin as haunting the episcopal offender even in the other world, for after death he is made to appear to an Irish bishop. 'I ate meat,' said the spectre, 'and I have been turned into meat.'¹ Rhyddmarch mentions among the officials of S. David's a Provost (*Præpositus*)²

longo itinere fatigatis, aliqua suavioris cibi oblectamenta procurant.'—*V. S. David, Cambro-Brit. SS.*, 127, 128. 'Non diversorum fercula saporum, non esculentiores pastus apponunt; sed pane et oleribus sale conditis pasti ardentem sitim temperato potionis genere restingunt. . . . Vilibus induebantur vestibus, maxime pellinis.'—*Ibid.* 128. Compare what is said of the self-denying life of S. Finnian who was for some time an inmate at S. David's: 'Hic omnia vitia corporis et animæ respuebat. Quippe qui non manducabat nisi panem et olera et pro potu aquam bibebat. Diebus vero festiuis panem de frumento licet raro, et partem piscis manducabat, et pro potu calicem ceruisiæ, sive de sero lactis bibebat. Sed de carnibus taceo: quia nec unquam alicujus animalis comedit nisi tantum partem piscis assi. . . . Non super lectum molliter stratum, sed super nudam humum, lapide supposito capiti pro ceruicali, dormiebat.'—*V. S. Finniæ, Colgan, Act. SS.* 397.

¹ *Opp.* i. 104.

² *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 130, 131, 132. In the widely extended Rule of S. Columba the *Præpositus* was the superior of one of the associate monasteries, but subject to the head abbot or archimandrite.—Reeves, *Adamn. V. S. Columb.* lib. i. cc. xxiv., xxv., 132, xxxiii. 140, xxxv. 143. He was required to be 'sanctus, sapiens, affabilis, peregrinis

and a Steward (Œconomus).¹ The recurrence of the same names, but with the addition of a dean, in connection with Llanbadarn Fawr, suggests the probability that under the abbot they constituted the governing body in British monasteries.

The marriage of the clergy seems to have run much the same course in Britain as in other branches of the Western Church—a recognised practice,² but with a growing feeling against it.

Marriage of
clergy in
the British
Church.

appelebilis,' also experienced 'non solum docendo, sed etiam scribendo.'
—*Ibid.* lib. i. 11, 115; lib. iii. xxiv. 213.

¹ The Œconomus (his Irish name was Fertighis) was the house steward, whose main duty it was to attend to the domestic arrangements of the monastery: 'Quodam die Œconomus S. Mochuæ Lothræ venit ad S. Moedoc, dicens parum frumenti habemus, seminabimus illud, an dabimus fratribus?' (*V. S. Maidoci*, ap. Colgan, *Actt. SS.* cxliv. 213). That the office was not considered unimportant appears from the following warning of S. Columbanus, 'Si quis voluerit aliquid et prohibet œconomus et jubet abbas, quinque dies.'—Fleming, *Collect.* p. 377. The *Lives of the Saints* abound in incidents illustrative of the petty tyranny of the Œconomus. One day, we are told, S. Moedoc was reading in his cell at S. David's, when the Œconomus, who hated the holy man, upbraided him bitterly for not having gone with the rest to the wood to carry logs for the use of the monastery. The saint immediately obeyed, casting out of doors his open book. S. David saw all the Œconomus had done, and finding the book which S. Moedoc had thrown away untouched by the rain, and learning from the boy who had accompanied S. Moedoc how he had been miraculously helped in his work, he sharply rebuked the Œconomus. (*V. S. Maidoci seu Moedici*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.* 209). The story is told more briefly by Rhyddmarch (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 130, 131), and without any censure of the Œconomus: this personage is, however, represented as conspiring with the cook and deacon in an attempt to poison S. David. *Ibid.* 131, 132.

² The canons attributed to S. Patrick (but of the seventh century) recognise the relation of the 'clericus et uxor ejus': *Can.* vi. 'Qui-

In his acknowledgment of the existence and lawfulness of the usage, as well as in his declamation against it under the cover of inveighing only against its abuse, Gildas would be a fair exponent of the popular feeling of his day.¹ The usage continued, however, in Wales to a much later period than elsewhere. Even in the latter half of the tenth century, when the clergy were enjoined not to marry without the consent of the Pope, so great was the excitement in consequence of this restriction in the diocese of Llandaff that it was adjudged expedient to allow matrimony to the priests.² Marriage could not have been regarded as incompatible with the highest ideal of holiness, for it has been observed that the only notices we have of several of the most eminent ecclesiastics have been transmitted under the title of 'The Genealogy of the Saints.'³ Nor was it confined to

cunque clericus ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem sine tunica visus fuerit, . . . et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contempnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur.' Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. 2. Cf. also S. Gregory's instructions to S. Augustine on the same subject.—Bæda; *Hist. Eccl.* i. 27. Neither was marriage confined in the Irish Church any more than in the British to the Inferior Orders. 'When S. Patrick required a *ḡamda p-episcop* (*materies episcopi*), a man fitted for the episcopal office, to be placed over the Lagenians, he asked for a person who, among other qualifications, was *ḡeap eḡpētche* (a man of one wife).'—*Lib. Armac.* fol. 18a, b.

¹ *Epist. Gild.* lxvi.

² *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent, A.D. 961, in *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 28.

³ Ab Ithel's *Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry*, p. 230. The same remark applies to the Irish Saints; e. g., 'A.D. 731. Firnamhail, son of Ger-

the inferior clergy. In the marginal annotations of the Book of S. Chad, which was originally the property of Llandaff, mention is made of a 'Cuhelm filius Episcopi.'¹ One of the most honoured of the bishops of S. David's was Sulien 'the Wise.' He had a family of four sons,² the eldest of whom, Rhyddmarch, succeeded him in the bishopric. Rhyddmarch, again, 'one without an equal or second, excepting his father, for learning, wisdom, and piety,'³ appears to have been married and to have left a son named Sulien.⁴ Another of the sons of Bishop Sulien—Daniel—was in A.D. 1115 elected to the same see;⁵ but Henry I., in spite of the loud protests of both the clergy and laity, conferring the office upon Bernard, a Norman, the bishop-elect retired into North Wales, where he became the archdeacon of Powys.⁶ Under the year 1147, the appointment of Nichol, son of Bishop Gwrgant, to the See of Llandaff, and of David, son of Gerald, Archdeacon of

trude, abbot of Clonaird, died. Crunmael, son of Colgan, abbot of Lusca, died.'—*Annal. iv. Magistr.*

¹ *Lib. Landav.* Appendix, p. 273.

² 'Quattuor ac proprio nutriuit sanguine natos.'—Carmen de vita et familia Sulgeni Episc. Menev., auctore Jeano filio, printed from a MS. in C. C. C. Library, Cambridge, in *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 666.

³ *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., A.D. 1098. *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 84.

⁴ 'MCXLV. Y vlwyddyn rac wyneb y bu uarw Sulyen (vab) Richmarch.' (1145. The ensuing year died Sulien, son of Rythmarch.) *Brut y Tywysog.*, ed. Williams ab Ithel, p. 166.

⁵ Jones and Freeman's *Hist. of S. David's*, p. 270.

⁶ *Brut y Tywysog.*, ed. Williams ab Ithel, pp. 152, 154.

Ceredigion, is chronicled. But it is in the succession system that the continuance and the recognised lawfulness of a married clergy are most clearly discerned. Benefices and cathedral appointments appear in most instances to have passed lineally from father to son.¹ This usage would have been of too scandalous a nature to have been acquiesced in, had the connection been otherwise than legitimate. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the laws of Howel Dda

¹ 'Ecclesiæ vero istorum omnes fere tot personas et participes habent, quot capitalium virorum in parochia genera fuerint. Successive quoque, et post patres, filii ecclesias obtinent, non elective; hereditate possidentes, et polluentes sanctuarium Dei.'—Gir. Cambr., *Descr. Cambr.* ii. 7 (*Opp.* vi. 214). One of the evil consequences of this system, both in Ireland and Wales, was the creation of lay abbots (*Ibid. Itiner. Cambr.* ii. 4), men who were altogether laical in character, or who, for the sake of appearances, had taken the tonsure and nominally joined one of the inferior orders of clergy. The natural result was the virtual secularisation in such cases of Church endowments, and the transference of spiritual authority into the hands of laymen. S. Bernard (*V. S. Malachiæ*, v. and vii.) complains bitterly of the existence of the last-mentioned evil in the church of Armagh: 'Verum mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum sedem sanctam obtentum iri hæreditaria successione,' etc. At the same time the system, vicious as it was, was not altogether unproductive of good, so far as Wales was concerned. By confining Welsh ecclesiastical appointments to natives of the principality, it restrained the Norman kings from carrying out fully in the Welsh Church their policy of thrusting their own foreign favourites into all Church benefices. It was not until A.D. 1112, long after the English bishoprics and abbeys had been filled by foreigners, that Bernard, the first Norman prelate, was forced upon the clergy of S. David's, 'reclamantibus clero ecclesiæ et populo' (Gir. Cambr. *De Invect.* ii. 1, *Opp.* iii. 49), 'hebbena chennad na chyfarch ysgolheigion y Cymry; ac yna colles escob Dewi ei fraint ac ai dug escob caint' (*Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent.; *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 96).

enjoin that the son of a priest born while the father was still a clerk should not share land with a son born after ordination, 'as the latter was begotten contrary to decree.'¹ In the time of Giraldus this discouragement had become a definite prohibition,² to evade which, lawful marriage was oftentimes concealed under the veil of concubinage,³ the less disreputable alternative according to the ecclesiastical public opinion of the age.

Although no remains of any British Liturgy prior to the eighth century are known to exist, yet supposing that the Columban Liturgy, if not exactly British, was akin to it, a fairly correct idea ^{British ritual.} can be formed of its nature. At first the British Liturgy would naturally be that of Lyons—the Gallican, and thus traceable to an Oriento-Apostolic source, the Ephesine Liturgy of S. John, but gradually it gathered variations around it, and in time assumed a stamp of its own. Through the conversion of Ireland, and afterwards of North Britain, rites and usages essentially British obtained a wide ac-

¹ Dimetian and Gwentian *Codes in Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i. 444, 760.

² Gir. Camb. *De Gest.* i. 4; *Opp.* i. 27.

³ 'Hinc (from a story told by Giraldus in *Speculo Ecclesiæ* MS. Dist. iii. 8) clarissime constat concubinam istam lege conjugali presbytero conjunctam esse, quali et concubinas presbyteris Walensibus conjunctas esse Giraldus dicit. Invisum quidem concubinarum nomen Giraldus apponit.'—Wharton, *N. L. A.* ii. 525.

ceptance. For between S. Patrick and the British missionaries who co-operated with him, there seems to have been from the beginning a divergence on such points of liturgy and discipline as already marked off the British Church from the Western Communion.¹ At a subsequent period the relationship between the British and Irish Churches became much closer through the second Order of Irish Saints receiving their mass from SS. David, Cadoc, and Gildas.² Hence, through S. Columba and his followers, this same ritual would become the use of the North British and Northumbrian Churches. We may therefore conclude that, outside the Roman or Augustine circle of ideas, there was substantially throughout Britain in the seventh century perfect uniformity

¹ Montalembert thinks (*Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 80) that he finds traces of this divergence in a passage in S. Patrick's confession, where he says that he had brought the Gospel to Ireland in spite of his *seniors*, that is, says Tillemont, of the British priests; also in two canons which betray a hostile spirit against British clergy and monks:—Synodus S. Patricii, can. 33, 'Clericus qui de Britannia ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare.' Synodus alia S. Patricii, can. 20, 'Cum monachis non est docendum, quorum malum est inauditum qui unitatem vero plebis non incongrue suscepimus.'—Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. 3, 5. The first supposition is contrary to the unanimous testimony of tradition, while Montalembert admits that the canons quoted are obscure and the text perhaps altered. Haddon and Stubbs will not allow them an earlier date than the middle of the seventh century.—*Concilia*, 126 note, a. Dr. Todd, however, is of opinion that some of them must have been enacted while Paganism was still predominant in Ireland.—*Life of S. Patrick*, ch. iii. p. 485.

² *Catal. SS. Hibern.* ap. Ussher, vi. 478.

on all points relating to divine worship and ecclesiastical discipline.

The principal differences between the usages of the British Church and those of Rome may be classed under the following heads :—

Peculiar
British
ecclesiastical
usages.

The time for the observance of Easter.¹

The administration of baptism. Single immersion was probably the British custom. That the difference did not consist in the omission of chrism or of confirmation, as the language of Bæda seems to imply,² is certain, for both are known to be in use at the time in the closely united Irish Church.³

The tonsure. The British Church, differing both from the Greek and the Roman, shaved the head in an imperfect manner, 'ab aure ad aurem,' across the front of the head, but leaving the occiput untouched.⁴

¹ Vide supra, p. 93.

² 'Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ ecclesiæ compleatis.'—Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 2. Dr. Lingard, referring the complementum baptismi to Confirmation, affirms that the Roman ritual required that when baptism was administered on the eves of the greater festivals, the baptized should be led from the font to the bishop to be confirmed by him.—*Anglo-Sax. Church*, vol. i. p. 69, n.

³ 'Postera die quâ chrismate neophyti in veste candida dum (fides) flagrabat in fronte ipsorum, crudeliter trucidati atque mactati (sunt).'
—*Epist. S. Patricii ad Christianos Corotyci tyranno subditos*.—(*Actt. SS.* ii. 538, March 17.)

⁴ Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 21. To bring the British tonsure into disrepute, its origin was opprobriously ascribed to Simon Magus. Its adoption by the Irish Church gave rise to another calumny, that it was introduced into that country by the swineherd of the Pagan

The Greek tonsure was complete, and was called after S. Paul,¹ while the Roman, which was styled S. Peter's, shaved the crown of the head, leaving a circle of hair to represent the crown of thorns.²

Peculiar ritual in the mass.³ It was objected at the Synod of Macon (A.D. 624 or 627) by Agrestius, a monk of Luxovium, that the Liturgy of S. Columba had a multiplicity of collects.⁴

The consecration of bishops by a single bishop.⁵

King Lalghire, the enemy of S. Patrick.—*Ex Epist. Gildæ Altera. (Concilia, Haddon and Stubbs, 113.)*

¹ 'Qui subdiaconus' (Theodorus) 'ordinatus quatuor expectavit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tonderi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more Orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli.'—Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1.

² *Ibid.* v. 21.

³ 'Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici, non solum in missa,' etc.—*Ex Epist. Gildæ Altera. (Concilia, 112.)*

⁴ 'At ille (Agrestius) prorupit dicens, se scire Columbanum a cæterorum more desciscere, et ipsa missarum solemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare.'—*V. S. Eustasii* in Mabill. *Actt. SS. Bened.* sæc. ii. p. 120. Dr. O'Connor found among the MSS. at Stowe a manuscript of a supposed Irish Liturgy. (Catalogue of MSS. in Stowe Library, Appendix, vol. i. p. 43.) It contains several collects before the Epistle, contrary to the practice of most of the Western Churches. Palmer, in his *Origines Liturgicæ* (vol. i. 182), will not assign to the MS. a date earlier than the tenth or eleventh century, but admits that it may have been copied from a more ancient MS. There can be no doubt, however, of the Irish origin of the Liturgy; its rubrics are in the Irish language, it mentions a number of Irish Saints, and it makes in the prayers a commemoration 'omnium quoque Scotorum.'

⁵ 'Accitoque uno episcopo de Hybernia, more Britonum et Scotorum in pontificem Kentigernum consecrari fecerunt.'—*V. S. Kentigerni*, in Pinkerton's *Vite SS. Scot.* p. 223. Consecration by single bishops is the invariable usage in the Lives of the Cambro-British

Churches and monasteries were consecrated by the residence upon the spot of the founder with a view to the exercise for a certain time of prayer and fasting ; the building would then be called after the name of the living founder, and not be dedicated to any saint already dead.¹

A few other peculiar usages are known to have prevailed in the Northumbrian branch of the early Anglo-Saxon Church ; one of these usages certainly, viz., the anointing of the hands at ordination,² the rest not improbably, bearing in mind the impress naturally stamped upon the Church of Northumbria by the Celtic monks of Hi, were of British origin.³

Saints. S. Columba is represented in legend (Lanigan's *Ecccl. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii. 128, as seeking episcopal orders at the hands of Bishop Etchen alone ; instead of which, through mistake, the priesthood only was conferred upon him. Archbishop Lanfranc, writing in 1074 to 'Terdelvacum Hiberniæ Regem' (Tordealbach), complains of single episcopal consecration as even then the practice in Ireland : 'Epi-copi ab uno episcopo consecrantur' (*Epist. XXVIII.*, Migne, *Patrol.* tom. cl. col. 536). Archbishop Anselm, a few years later (1100), in his Letter to 'Murtardacum Hiberniæ Regem' (Murtach O'Brien), repeats the complaint : 'Item dicitur episcopos in terrâ vestra passim eligi, et sine certo episcopatus loco constitui, atque ab uno episcopo episcopum sicut quemlibet presbiterum ordinari. Quod nimirum sacris canonibus omnino contrarium est.' (*Opp. Epistolæ*, lib. iii. Epist. 147 ; Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. clix. col. 179.)

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 57-61.

² Gild. *Epist.* 106.

³ They are mentioned on the authority of Maskell's *Mon. Ritual.* vol. iii., in *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), p. 141 ;—(1) 'Anointing of hands of deacons at ordination ; (2) Anointing of hands as well as head of Priests and of Bishops at ordination ; and of the head twice,

The British Churches seem to have had a Latin version of the Holy Scriptures peculiar to themselves. Thirteen verses of the New Testament quoted by Gildas, evidently, as the context shows, out of the British Ordinal, agree neither with the Old Latin version as used by other than British or Irish writers, nor with the Vulgate. The existence of such an independent version is confirmed by the facts, that Fastidius (A.D. 420) and Gildas agree in their peculiar rendering of Ezekiel xviii. 20-24, and xxxiii. 11; and by the like agreement of Cummean (A.D. 634), and a collection of Irish canons compiled in the earlier half of the eighth century, in the reading of Ezekiel xiii. 19, and of Psalm xxxi. 3. Moreover, Gildas and Columbanus, Abbot of Luxeuil, and afterwards of Bobbio (A.D. 590-615), are identical in their peculiar rendering of three out of the four quotations they make in common from the New Testament,—S. Matthew vii. 23, Philippians ii. 3, and S. Peter i. 16.¹ For these undesigned coincidences it would be difficult to account, except on the supposition that there was a common version of which they all made use.

A special Latin version of the Bible in use in the British and Irish Churches.

in the case of Bishops; (3) Prayer at the giving of the stole to Deacons at ordination; (4) Rite of delivering the Gospels to Deacons at ordination; (5) Rite of investing Priests with the stole at ordination.'

¹ *Concilia* (Haddon and Stubbs), 170-198.

CHAPTER V.

*‘ Dans cette position presque désespérée, les sentiments qui, chez les peuples comme chez les individus, procèdent de l’instinct de conservation, avaient dû se développer chez les Bretons. Le patriotisme de ceux-ci s’était exalté ; leur haine pour l’ennemi ne connaissait plus de bornes ; leur méfiance pour tout étranger s’accroissait, toute prête à se convertir en haine. Les trois dispositions d’esprit expliquent parfaitement les relations de la Bretagne et de Rome à l’époque où l’on y surprend quelque signe de mésintelligence. ’—M. VARIN, *Mémoire sur les Causes de la Dissidence entre l’Eglise Bretonne et l’Eglise Romaine.**

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST of modern England stands out from among all other foreign conquests in the length of time over which it extended, and in the thoroughness with which it was effected. It has been truly observed, that in these features it bears a striking likeness to the Hebrew conquest of Canaan. It was not until the great victory of Æthelfrith of Northumbria beneath the walls of Chester in A.D. 613, after more than a hundred and fifty years of almost continuous warfare, that the Britons were forced across the Dec.¹ This event, however, was so far from putting an end to the struggle between the two races, that we must pass

The completeness of the English conquest—the result of the fierceness and of the length of the struggle.

¹ Vide supra, pp. 176, 177.

over another period of fifty years before we come to anything approaching to a final settlement. In the meantime the area, over which the rule of the Welsh, as they were now called, extended, was being permanently circumscribed. The battle of Barwick in Elmet¹ (A.D. 616) separated Wales from Cumbria, while at a later date the battle of Hefenfelth or Denis's-brook² (A.D. 635), and that near the river Winwæd³ (A.D. 656), entirely destroyed its fragile hold upon Northumbria and Mercia. At last, upon the death of Cadwalader in A.D. 681, the confession is made that 'thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom, and the Saxons gained it.'⁴ When, however, the conquest was effected, the life-and-death character of the contest, and the bitterness with which for above two centuries it was waged, only rendered the result more complete. No fusion between the foreign conquerors and the conquered natives could under the circumstances take place. In the conquest

¹ Nennius, lxiii. (*M. H. B.* 76). *Annales Camb.* in ann. 616 (*M. H. B.* 832).

² Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 1, 2. Nennius (who calls it the battle of Cats-caul), lxiv.

³ 'Prope fluvium Vinwed.'—Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 24. In a note in the *M. H. B.* p. 198, the river Winwed is identified with the Broad Arc, which runs by the modern town of Leeds, and the scene of the battle is therefore placed on the southern border of Northumbria, near the territory of the Mercian Penda. Nennius (lxiv.) calls the place 'Gai Campai.'

⁴ *Brut y Tywysog*, a. 681. (*M. H. B.* 841.)

of other countries by the Northern tribes these repelling tendencies were absent, and the invaders, fascinated by the tokens they witnessed of Roman civilisation, and overawed by the grandeur of the ceremonial element in the Church, as well as attracted by the moral beauty of its teaching, were invariably drawn to adopt not only the language and customs, but even the religion, of the people whom they had subdued. But in Britain the religion of the English was at the end of the sixth century as intensely pagan as when they first landed.

To the Church of Rome was accorded the blessedness which the force of events had withheld from the British Church of Christianising these fierce captors. The love of souls which in Gregory the Great first prompted the Mission, the foresight which marked its organisation, and the wisdom and energy with which it was carried out, were worthy of the triumph which Christianity achieved in the conversion of the English people. For, like all the Teutonic tribes, the English seem to have fallen far away from the reverential awe with which their ancestors contemplated the spiritual world. Their gods now were Woden, to be propitiated with human sacrifices,¹ and Freya, the

Conversion
of England.

Cruel and
sensual cha-
racter of
English
heathenism.

¹ 'D'un autre côté, les instincts cruels se satisfaisaient par les sacrifices humains, connus de toutes les nations germaniques, aussi bien

goddess of unhallowed love;¹ while the attributes of Thor were set forth under the symbol of a hammer, with which he was supposed to crush the heads of his enemies.² Nor was the Valhalla—the immortality of their nobles and distinguished warriors—but an intensified continuance of the slaughter and debauchery which had constituted their happiness in this world.³ But their deadness to the ordinary instincts of humanity appears most vividly in the extent and character of their slave-trade. Among other nations this traffic has been generally confined to those captured in war, or enslaved by law, but by the

que chez leurs voisins du Nord. Les Hermundures vouaient à Wodan et au dieu de la guerre ce qu'ils prenaient sur l'ennemi, hommes et chevaux. Les Goths, les Hérules, les Saxons, immolaient leurs captifs.' Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, ch. ii. p. 92.

¹ 'Ensuite vient la Vénus du Nord, Fréa, la déesse de l'abondance, de la fécondité et de l'amour. Fréa était célébrée comme l'épouse de Wodan, elle pouvait tout sur lui avec le collier (*brisinga men*) que lui forgèrent ses mains, pareil à la ceinture de Vénus, dont le charme subjuguait les dieux.'—*Ibid.* p. 74.

² 'Le second dieu des Germains, au rapport de Tacite, est Hercule ; et en effet, les traditions parlent d'un personnage divin, armé de la massue ou du marteau, doué d'une force prodigieuse, et qui foule aux pieds les géants vaincus. C'est le même que les Scandinaves appellent Thor, c'est-à-dire, le tonnerre, la puissance invisible dont la voix se fait entendre dans la tempête. Le marteau placé dans ses mains était le symbole de la foudre qui consacre tout ce qu'elle touche.'—*Ibid.* p. 70.

³ 'Car les rois et les nobles, fils des dieux, ne tombent sur les champs de bataille que pour aller revivre dans le palais d'or de la Valhalla. Chaque jour, dans les cours du palais, ils se donnent le plaisir de la guerre ; puis ils rentrent dans les salles ornées de boucliers, s'assoient à la même table, boivent la bière écumante, et se nourrissent de la chair du sanglier qui ne diminue jamais.'—*Ibid.* p. 52.

English in the sixth century their nearest and dearest relations were sold on the smallest pretext to the continental merchants, to be again disposed of by them in the great market-places of Europe. And yet this outrage on the law of our nature providentially opened the door to a religion, which in all countries, by recognising in every human being a conscience, and thus making him no longer a thing or chattel, but a person endowed with duties and rights, has been the death of slavery in every form.¹

The old story of the incident which ultimately led to the conversion of England will always bear to be repeated. One day a group of English boys, fair-faced, white-skinned, and with flowing hair, were

¹ The Church was unwearied in her efforts to restrain, for it could not at once abolish, slavery among the English people. Acting on the advice of the two archbishops, Hedda and Erconwald, 'et omnium Aldermannorum meorum et seniorum et sapientum regni mei, multaue congregatione servorum Dei,' Ine passed a law: 'Si servus operetur dominica die per præceptum domini sui, sit liber.'—*Chronicon Johannis Bromton*, ap. Script. Decem (Twysden, 761). From thence Sunday came to be called Freolsday, or day of freedom. In a Council held at Westminster, A.D. 1102, under Archbishop Anselm, the nefarious custom of selling men like brute animals is sternly forbidden: 'Ne quis illud nefarium negotium, quo hactenus in Anglia solebant homines sicut bruta animalia venumdari, deinceps ullatenus facere præsumat.'—Harduini *Con.* tom. vi. p. 1865. William of Malmesbury, however, acknowledges that the slave trade was a custom so ingrained in the English nation that even in his time they continued to sell into slavery their nearest relations: 'Venales ex Northumbria pueri, familiari et pene ingenta illi nationi consuetudine, adeo ut, sicut nostra quoque sæcula viderunt, non dubitarent arctissimas necessitudines sub prætextu minimorum commodorum distrahere.'—*De Gest. Regum Anglorum*, I, 3.

standing in the market-place, at Rome,¹ exposed for sale. The abbot of the monastery of S. Andrew on Mount Cælius, who bore the significant name of Gregory, happened to be passing by; struck by the appearance of these boys, he enquired from what country they had been brought. Finding that they came from England, and that they were pagans, he heaved a deep sigh. 'Alas! what pity,' said he, 'that the author of darkness possesses men of such fair countenances, and that such outward beauty should have a mind so void of inward grace! But of what nation are they?' 'Angles.' 'Truly so, for they have angelic faces, and such as they should be co-heirs with the angels in heaven. From what province come they?' 'From Deira' (one of the two kingdoms of Northumbria). 'Rightly, to be rescued from the ire of God and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province named?' 'Ælla.' 'So be it; Alleluia, the praise of the Creator must be sung in those parts.'²

¹ Rome was no stranger to the bodily beauty and strength of English slaves. Symmachus jocularly writes that he needed the teaching and example of Socrates to console him in his sorrow that twenty-nine of the Saxon prisoners whom he had bought for the amphitheatre had strangled themselves rather than minister to the pleasures of their masters.—Lib. ii. Epist. 46.

² Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 2. Several instances are recorded of Gregory's fondness for punning: 'Jamque trium dierum itinere profligato, ad quemdam locum requieturi forte diverterant: quo, singulis quiescentibus, Gregorius lectitabat. Quem locusta superveniens coegit paululum

From this time the conversion of the English nation became one of Gregory's most cherished projects. Profoundly impressed with the divine idea of the Church, conceived as a ^{Gregory the Great.} vast spiritual society destined in its majestic compass to 'cover the earth as the waters cover the sea,' Gregory was always in spirit a missionary. Filled with a holy ambition to be the foremost in the dangers as well as the glories of bringing over this beautiful but savage people to the Catholic Church, he obtained the reluctant consent of Pope Benedict to put himself at the head of the Mission. Gregory dreaded the interposition of some obstacle if his intention became known, and he therefore urged his companions to proceed with all speed on their journey, with a view to convey themselves as soon as possible to a distance beyond recall. His fears, however, were soon to be realised. When his absence was noticed at Rome, the Pope, as he went to S. Peter's, was assailed by the populace with importunate entreaties that he would revoke his consent, and order back the man whose presence they considered essential to the safety of the city. The Pope's messengers overtook

a legendo quiescere, et ex consideratione sui nominis docuit eum in eodem loco se stare debere. Tunc fertur dixisse : Locusta, inquit, dici potest, quasi loco stat ! statimque comites adhortatus festinantius ire certabat.' Joan. Diac. *V. S. Gregorii*, lib. i. c. 24. 'Gens Anglorum, in mundi angulo posita suo.'—*Epist.* viii. 30, ad Eulogium.

the Mission at the distance of three days' journey, and so peremptory was the tone of their order, that Gregory had no alternative but immediately to return.¹ Providence, we know, had reserved for him the still greater work of preserving Western Christianity from perishing with the sinking wreck of the Empire of the West. When, however, he was elected Pope and forced into the papal chair,² amidst the horrors of the times, men's hearts failing them for fear, and even Gregory imagining that he perceived the tokens of the approaching end of the world, he forgot not the home of the English slaves. The Lombards were threatening the south of Italy with the remorseless destruction they had wrought in the north; fires, storms, floods, pestilence, famine, in succession were assailing Rome; but the watchful eye of Gregory took in the whole of Christendom, from the Sinaitic Monasteries in Arabia to the western extremities of Europe, providing for the smallest as well as the greatest needs of the Church.³ At first he

¹ Joan. Diac. *V. S. Gregorii*, lib. i. 22, 23.

² *Id. ibid.* 39, 40.

³ 'Tanta inundatione Tiberis fluvius alveum suum egressus est, tantumque excrevit, ut ejus unda per Urbis muros influeret, atque in ea maximam partem regionis occuparet, ita ut plura antiquarum ædium mœnia dejiceret. Qua etiam aquarum violentia horrea ecclesiæ subversa sunt in quibus nonnulla modiorum tritici millia perierunt. Subsecuta est e vestigio clades quam Inguinariam vocant. . . . Denique cum de tota pene Italia Langobardorum gladios metuentes plurimi undique ad Romanam urbem confluerent, sollertem pro omnibus curam

seemed to think that even the slave traffic might be the means of supplying him with fit instruments for the evangelisation of England. Accordingly, he writes to the administrator of the small Papal estate in Gaul, that he should spend the money he had received in the purchase of English youths of seventeen or eighteen years of age to be trained in the monastery for the service of God.¹ At length he decided to entrust the work to his own Foundation of S. Andrew's: the band was to consist of forty monks—a multiple of the Ten Commandments and the four Evangelists,²—with Augustine the prior of that house for their leader. Although the narrowness of mind and the indifference to the feelings and pre-
Augustine.
judices of others which Augustine subsequently manifested,³ contrast very unfavourably with the

gerebat et universis cum verbi pabulo corporis subsidia ministrabat. In tantum namque ejus animum misericordiæ amor devicerat, ut non solum eorum quos præsentis habebat necessitatibus occurreret, sed insuper longe positos opem suæ largitatis impenderet; adeo ut etiam in monte Sinay Dei famulis constitutis quæque erant opportuna transmitteret.²—Paul, Diac. *V. S. Gregorii*, 10, 16.

¹ *Epist.* vi. 7.

² 'Tot Dominicæ Legationis manipulares ad quadraginta numerantur, quaternio scilicet denario legis et Evangelii quatuor animalia imitantes.'—Gotselinus, *Hist. Major*, c. i. 5.

³ We find several unmistakeable hints in Gregory's Letters to Augustine that he was not unconscious of the latter's defects of judgment: 'Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur; pertimescas vero ne inter signa quæ fiunt infirmus animus in sui presumptionem se elevet, et unde foris in honore attollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus

lofty views of Gregory, and with his consideration for nations and Churches differently circumstanced, still the discernment of Gregory in his choice of Augustine was fully justified by the results. On all great questions of policy Augustine never omitted to consult and to be guided by Gregory ; and where he failed was in matters which demanded a certain tact or adaptation of mind, the absence of which could not always be compensated for by the loving counsels of Gregory, given as they necessarily were without that local knowledge which residence on the spot alone could supply.

As the missionaries journeyed through Southern Gaul, frightful accounts reached their ears of the bar-

cadat.'—*Epist.* xi. 28. There is evidently a tone of distrust underlying Gregory's advice respecting the enforcement of the Roman Ritual, and Augustine's bearing towards the bishops of France. 'Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit enutritam. Sed mihi placet ut sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc in fide nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. . . Ipse autem ex auctoritate propria episcopos Galliarum judicare non poteris ; sed suadendo, blandiendo, bona quoque tua opera eorum imitationi monstrando, pravorum mentes ad sanctitatis studia reformando. Falcem ergo judicii mittere non potes in eam segetem, quæ alteri videtur esse commissa.'—*Epist.* xi. 64. That Gregory was not insensible of Augustine's love of power and outward display is also to be discerned in his words of limitation when conferring upon him the pallium. 'Quia nova Anglorum Ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi Pallii in ea ad sola Missarum solemnia agenda concedimus.'—*Epist.* xi. 65.

barous and fierce character of the English people, of whose very language they were ignorant.¹

Hesitating, they sent back Augustine to Rome to entreat that they should not be forced to proceed on so dangerous, toilsome, and

Journey of Augustine and his missionaries across Gaul; their fears: Letters of Gregory.

fruitless a journey. But Gregory would not listen for a moment to the proposition that the Mission should be given up. 'Better not to have begun the good work than to think of retiring from the project, now that they had undertaken it. The greater the toil, the greater the eternal reward. Gladly would he have shared their perils, nor was he without hope that he should partake with them in the joy of their recompense.'² But Gregory, with a sagacious appreciation of the means best adapted to ensure success, neglected not to enlist in favour of the Mission the help of human agencies. Strengthening its organisation by appointing Augustine to be the Abbot, with full power over his colleagues, he sent by him Letters to the Abbot of Lerino, to the Bishop of Aix, and to the governor of Provence, thanking them for the kindness they had shown to the missionaries. He wrote also to Desiderium, Bishop of Vienne, Syagrius, Bishop of Autun,

¹ 'Nunciatur quod gens quam peterent immanior belluis existeret, quod crudelitatem epulis præferret, quod sanguinem innocentum sitiret, quod Christianam fidem abhorreret, quod salutis doctoribus tantum supplicio et cædibus responderet.'—Gotſelinus, *Hist. Maj.* i. 6.

² *Epist.* vi. 51.

and to those of Tours and Marseilles, and to Virgilius, Metropolitan of Arles, commending the Mission to their care and priestly affection, but leaving to Augustine to explain in person its character and object. Augustine was also the bearer of Letters to Theodoric and Theodobert,¹ the youthful kings of Austrasia and Burgundy, and to their mother Brunehaut, who at the time was really the ruler of the whole of Eastern France, praying, in the name of the invariable orthodoxy of the Franks, that they would vouchsafe to extend their protection to the monks on their journey through France, and furnish them with interpreters to facilitate their work in Britain. At length the Mission

Landing of the Mission at Thanet; interview with King Æthelberht. was safely landed at Thanet. The same spot—a sandy creek between the modern towns of Sandwich and Ramsgate, and forming a part of a farm called Ebbsfleet—was thus the birthplace of the English Church as well as of the English nation. The king of Kent at this time was Æthelberht. Augustine immediately sent a message to him, that they had come from Rome, bringing with them the best of news—the assurance of everlasting

¹ *Epist.* vi. 58. In this Letter Gregory tells them that a report had reached him that the English nation was anxious to be converted to the Faith, but that the priests of the neighbouring country neglected them, giving no encouragement to their good desires. ‘Atque ideo pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam Deo miserante desideranter velle converti, sed sacerdotes e vicino negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere.’

joys in heaven, and of a kingdom without end with the true and living God. The king was not an entire stranger to the meaning of these words, for his wife was Bertha, the daughter of Charibert, the Christian king of the Franks of Paris. It had been stipulated in her marriage contract that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and with this object Luidhard, Bishop of Senlis, but who had resigned his see, probably from old age, had been sent over with her to England. Æthelberht, while forbidding Augustine and his companions to cross over from the island to the mainland until he had satisfied himself what to do with them, in a few days went to visit them, insisting, however, that their first interview should be in the open air, with a view to protect himself, as he thought, against any magical arts which the strangers might practise to the detriment of his judgment. As soon as the approach of the king was announced, they advanced to meet him. First in the procession was a verger carrying a silver cross for a banner ; then came the tall and noble form of Augustine ; after him was borne the picture of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board ; the brethren followed, headed by Honorius, a pupil of Gregory, and chanting to Gregorian tones their Litanies for the eternal salvation of themselves and of those for whose sake they had come. The king, after he had listened to Augustine

preaching the Word of Life, replied: 'Your words and promises are fair indeed, but as they are new and uncertain, I cannot assent to them, and thus abandon that which I with the whole English nation have so long held sacred. But because you have come hither from far, and, as I conceive, are desirous to communicate to us what you believe to be true and best, we shall do you no hurt; on the contrary, we shall show you kindly hospitality, and shall take care to supply you with the necessaries of life; nor do we forbid you to attach by your preaching as many as you can to the Faith of your Religion.' In accordance with this answer, Æthelberht allowed the missionaries to reside at Canterbury, and gave them for their use the small church of S. Martin's, just outside the town, to the east. They made their first entry, carrying in procession, according to their usual wont on such occasions, the same cross and picture as at their first meeting with the king, and again chanting this Litany: 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.'¹

Living in the dwelling-house assigned to them, the apostolic simplicity of their lives, and the sweet-

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* i. 25; Gotselinus, *Hist. Maj.* ii. 15-19; *Hist. Minor de Vita S. Aug.* c. xii.

ness of their heavenly doctrine, and the miracles they wrought, so won the confidence of the heathen among whom they dwelt, that an ever-increasing number flocked together to hear their preaching. On Whitsunday, June 2, 597, the king was himself baptised, and at the Festival of Christmas, within a year of the landing of the Mission, ten thousand English converts were baptised in the Thames, at the mouth of the Medway, opposite the Isle of Sheppy.¹ In the meantime, acting on the instructions of Gregory, Augustine crossed over to France, where, on November 19, he was consecrated Archbishop of the English by Virgilius, the Metropolitan of Arles. Returning home, he receives from Rome the pall;² and, influenced by the circumstances that Canterbury was the capital city of his

Success of the Mission; Augustine is appointed Archbishop, and receives a Metropolitan pallium.

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* i. 26; *S. Gregor. Epist.* viii. 30.

² Claiming in the West by virtue of the Canons of Sardica an appellate jurisdiction, where both sides agreed to refer to their judgment, the Bishops of Rome, for the more speedy settlement of unimportant local disputes, delegated their authority to certain bishops in distant countries. The outward sign of this delegated authority was the pallium. 'Pontificalis officii plenitudo confertur per pallium. Antequam obtinuerit quis pallium, licet sit consecratus, non sortitur nomen Patriarchæ, Primatis, aut Archiepiscopi.' (*Pontifical*, p. 88.) A bishop, by asking for, or even consenting to accept, the Roman pallium, no doubt implied thereby a general adhesion to the Roman Communion. In the middle ages it was in the shape of a circle, of plain white lamb's wool, round the person over the arms, with a pendant before and behind, reaching down to the feet; it had four purple crosses—two on the round part, and one at the end of each of the two pendants.

royal convert, and that London, the importance of which had at first recommended it to Gregory as the fittest place to be the centre of the new see, was beyond the boundaries of the kingdom of Kent, he began to build on the site of an old church of the time of the Romans the Metropolitan church of Canterbury. Gregory, on being informed by Augustine of the great success of his labours, and how inadequate to the carrying on of the work were the existing agencies, sends a fresh body of missionaries, bringing with them sacred vessels and vestments, relics, books—all things that tended to the solemnity of Divine service.¹ Gregory also appoints Augustine to be Metropolitan of the twelve bishoprics to be established in Southern England. A second Metropolitan see is also to be fixed at York, with other twelve bishoprics under it to constitute the Northern Province, but the supremacy is to be vested in Augustine.² But besides the Bishops whom Augustine or

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* i. 29.

² *Epist.* xi. 65. From the year 735, when York became the Metropolitan see of the northern dioceses, its relation to that of Canterbury was for centuries a source of contention between the Archbishops of the two sees. In the eleventh century Thomas, Archbishop of York, maintained, against the primacy of Canterbury as upheld by Lanfranc, that it was only to Augustine, in his own person, that Metropolitan privileges were granted by Gregory, for that he had not said ‘and to your successors,’ and that upon his death these honours were to pass on to the Bishops of London and York alternately. The dispute, settled for a time by a compromise, broke out afresh in 1093, at the

the future Metropolitan Bishop of York might ordain, Gregory unwarrantably presumed to subject on his own authority to the jurisdiction of Augustine all the Bishops in Britain,¹ to the end, he says, 'that by your language and life they may learn the rule of believing rightly and living well, and thus fulfil their office and attain the heavenly kingdom.' A part only of this scheme was realised in the lifetime of Augustine. The conversion of Sæberht, king of the East Saxons, opened to him an entrance to London; this he immediately made the centre of another see, placing at its head, as Bishop, Mellitus, one of the new missionaries from Rome. A

Two new
Bishoprics,
at London
and Roches-
ter.

consecration of Anselm. The Northern Metropolitan insisted, successfully, that the words 'totius Britannicæ Prima' should be substituted for 'Dorobernensis Ecclesia totius Britannicæ Metropolitana,' as descriptive of the rights of the Southern Metropolitan Church. (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* lib. i.; Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. clix. col. 373.) Half a century later Archbishop Theobald, to put the primacy of Canterbury over York beyond dispute, petitioned the Pope that the Archbishop of Canterbury should, by virtue of his office, be the 'Legatus natus' of the Roman See—a petition that was ultimately granted. S. Bernard took part this time in the dispute. In the first Letter (*Epist.* ccxxxviii.) which he wrote to Pope Eugenius III. he upheld, in what he there terms 'hæc vetus de legatione querela,' the rights of Canterbury against the pretensions of York and Winchester. The character he gives of the Archbishop of York is frightful: 'Cavendus et repellendus, utpote fur et latro. . . . Porro archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, cui adversantur, vir religiosus est, et suaveolentis opinionis.'—Migne, tom. clxxxii. col. 430.

¹ 'Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos, quos ordinaverit, neque eos tantummodo, qui per Eboracensem episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britannicæ sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos,' sq.—*Epist.* xi. 65.

second Bishopric in Kent was founded at Rochester, the care of which was entrusted to Justus, a companion of Mellitus.

Of the twelve questions which Augustine had submitted to Gregory touching some of the difficulties he had already encountered or might meet in England, the second and seventh have a direct bearing on the manner in which he was to conduct himself towards the British Church. (1) 'Whereas there is but one Faith, why are there different customs in different churches? and why is one custom of masses observed in the holy Roman Church and another in the Gallican Church?' (2) 'How are we to deal with the bishops of France and Britain?'¹ To the first of these questions Gregory replied with his characteristic moderation and largeness of mind, that it was impossible that Augustine should forget the usage of the Roman Church in which he had been brought up, 'but it pleases me, that if you have found anything either in the Roman, or the Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you select it carefully, and sedulously teach the Anglican Church, which as yet is new in the Faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but

Refusal of
the British
bishops to
acknow-
ledge the
supremacy
of Augus-
tine.

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 3.

places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from every Church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when these have been collected together, let the mind of the English be accustomed thereto.’¹ In accord with the spirit of this answer, Augustine, in his subsequent controversy with the British Church, restricts the points in dispute to two of the usages wherein there was a difference between the Churches of Rome and Britain, viz. the time of observing Easter, and the mode of baptising. The other divergences he must have regarded as coming under the ruling of Gregory respecting the non-necessity of a rigid uniformity of ceremonial. The pertinacity, however, with which Augustine insisted upon compliance with his opinions upon the two points mentioned, and the obstinacy of the British Bishops in clinging to differences so purely accidental and recent in their origin, are only intelligible in the light of the answer given by Gregory to the second of the two questions which have been quoted: ‘We give you no authority over the Bishops of France, because the Bishop of Arles received the pall in ancient times from my predecessor, and we ought by no means to deprive him of the authority he has received. But as to all the Bishops of Britain,

The points on which the formal schism between the British and English Communion was rested by Augustine,—two in number.

¹ *Epist.* xi. 64.

we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the feeble strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority.'¹ Gregory, with all his insight into the working of men's hearts, knew not, living at Rome could not know, the hatred of the foreigner which the English invasion had created in the Welsh mind, nor the spirit of insular independence which isolation from Southern Christendom for a century and a half had wrought into the very texture of the British Church. Unhappily, in this instance Augustine acted literally, not to say harshly, upon the instructions of Gregory, and the result was a schism between the British and English Churches. Bæda makes no mention indeed

The question of jurisdiction underlying the points in dispute.

of Augustine putting forward his claim to the right of jurisdiction over the British Bishops, but it is evident from the tenor of his narrative that this was really the point of contention, and that the determination with which the British Bishops clung to their own traditionary ideas respecting the date of Easter and the administration of baptism, and their refusal to co-operate with Au-

¹ 'In Galliarum Episcopus nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus: quia ab antiquis prædecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis Episcopus accepit, quem nos privare auctoritate percepta minime debemus . . . Britannorum vero omnium Episcoporum curam tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roorentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur.'—*Epist.* xi. 64.

gustine in preaching to the English, proceeded from the conviction that by yielding they would be subjecting themselves to a foreign yoke. Probably their opposition was the more uncompromising that to them Augustine represented not so much the distant See of Rome as that of Canterbury, not so much Gregory as the hated king of the East Angles. The landing of the Mission at Thanet, its occupation of Kent, even the conference, bore an ominous resemblance to the successive fatal steps whereby their countrymen, to save their independence, had been driven to the fastnesses of Wales. The civil struggle was not even yet quite decided, much less altogether hopeless; would not the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the new English see be virtually a confession of temporal submission to their hereditary foes? Under the influence of these determining motives, to the threefold demand of Augustine, the representatives of the British Church returned a threefold refusal, significantly adding that they would never receive him as their Archbishop.

British
opposition
to the claim
of Canter-
bury inten-
sified by
patriotic
considera-
tions.

Bæda, whose sympathies, it should be remembered, were strongly on the side of that ecclesiastical unity of which he considered Rome the centre, gives the following account of the conferences between Augustine and the

First con-
ference
between the
British
Bishops and
Augustine.

British Bishops. Augustine was able, with the help of Æthelberht, to persuade the bishops and learned men of Wales to meet him at a place afterwards called Augustine's Oak (Austcliffe on the Severn), on the confines of Herefordshire. The ostensible object was to secure their co-operation in the work of evangelising England. Augustine therefore opened the first conference with exhorting the British Christians that they should cultivate terms of catholic peace with him, and undertake jointly with him the labour of converting to the Faith their pagan neighbours. He then touched upon several things which they did, he urged, in opposition to the universal usage of the Church, noting especially their adherence in their observance of Easter to the erroneous cycle of eighty-four years. 'When, after a long disputation, the Britons would not comply with the entreaties, exhortations, and reproaches of Augustine and his companions, but preferred their own traditions before all the Churches which throughout the world agree among themselves in Christ, the holy father Augustine made an end of this troublesome and long contention: "Let us pray God," said he, "who maketh brethren to dwell together in unity in His Father's house, that He will vouchsafe to indicate by heavenly signs which tradition should be followed, and by what means we are speedily to find our way to His

kingdom. Let some sick man be brought hither, and let the faith and practice of him by whose prayer he shall be healed be considered acceptable to God, and be followed by all." ' The British Bishops consented, but reluctantly. A blind man, an Anglian by birth, is brought, whom the British Bishops failed to cure. 'At length Augustine, compelled by real necessity, bowed his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and prayed, that restoring his lost sight to the blind man, He would thus, by the corporeal enlightening of one man, kindle the light of spiritual grace in the hearts of many of the faithful. Instantly the blind man receives his sight, and Augustine is acknowledged by all to be the preacher of the Divine light. The Britons then confessed that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught; but that they could not recede from their ancient usages without the consent and leave of their people. They therefore demanded that a second conference should be held, at which more deputies from their side would be present.'

The second conference was attended by seven British Bishops, and many most learned men from the monastery of Bangor Iscoed. But before attending this conference, they consulted a Second conference. certain anchorite, famed for his holiness and his discretion, whether they ought, at the preaching of

Augustine, to abandon their traditions. He advised them if he was a man of God to follow him. 'How shall we know that?' said they. He replied, 'Our Lord saith, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart;" if, therefore, Augustine is meek and lowly in heart, it is probable that he bears the yoke of Christ and offers the same to be borne by you. But if he is hard and proud, it is certain that he is not of God, nor are we to regard his discourse.' Again they asked, 'And how shall we discern even this?' 'Do you contrive,' said he, 'that he may arrive first with his friends at the place where the conference is to be held, and if at your approach he shall rise up to you, listen to him submissively; but if he shall despise you, not rising up to do you honour when you are more in number, let him also be despised by you.' This advice was rigidly followed. They found Augustine sitting in a chair, 'more Romano,' Henry of Huntingdon observes, utterly unconscious how much depended upon the incident. Observing this, their anger was aroused, and, charging him with pride, they endeavoured to contradict all he said. Augustine proposed to tolerate many of their customs, though contrary to the usage of even the Universal Church, if only they would obey him on these three points: 'to celebrate Easter at the right time, to complete the administra-

tion of baptism according to the usage of the holy Roman Apostolic Church, and to preach together the Word of God to the English nation.' The British Bishops and monks answered that they would do none of these things, nor acknowledge him as their Archbishop; for they said to each other, 'if he deigns not now to rise up to us, how much more will he slight us when we shall have accepted his authority.' Forecasting the inevitable disastrous result to the Welsh of having ferocious heathens for their neighbours, Augustine warns them in words which afterwards seemed to Bæda to be a threatening prediction that as they would not have peace with brethren, they should have war with enemies; that as they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should at their hands undergo the vengeance of death.¹

S. Gregory died probably early in A.D. 605, and his death was soon followed by that of Augustine.²

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii.

² There is considerable uncertainty as to the exact date of his death. Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 527) fixes it as early as 604; the Canterbury Chroniclers place it a year later. Mabillon decides in favour of 607: 'Augustini obitum (de quo diversæ omnino sententiæ) in medio anni 604 et 610 intervallo statuere necesse est. Anno enim Dominicæ Inc. 604 . . . ordinavit duos episcopos, Mellitum videlicet et Justum. Anno vero octavo Imperii Focatis . . . Indict. 13, hoc est anno Christi 610, Bonifacius Papa epistolas direxit Archiepiscopo Laurentio, qui jam Augustino successerat. . . . Tabella vetus altaris Ecclesiæ S. Augustini Cantuar. in tom. i. *Monast. Anglic.* post pag.

The latter had already appointed and consecrated Laurentius to be his successor in the See of Canterbury, and had thus wisely provided that there should be no interregnum in the government or direction of the Mission. In addition to the fervent piety and effective preaching of his predecessor, Laurentius possessed a sounder judgment and a more conciliatory spirit. Recognising the unhappy issue of Augustine's policy, and finding that the British Church was not without the sympathy of other Churches, as represented by Bishop Dagan from Ireland and the abbot Columbanus in Gaul, Laurentius addressed a Pastoral Letter to the Bishops and abbots of all Scotia. The hope was evidently cherished, if the latter could be induced to act as mediators, that owing to the intimacy and mutual confidence which existed between these two portions of the Celtic Communion, a reconciliation might be effected between the British and the Italian Bishops. The apologetic and conciliatory tone of the Letter is manifest. The Irish Bishops and abbots are addressed as our very dear brothers; the Metro-

24, expressa hæc habet. Antiqua Ecclesia præsentis Monasterii dedicata fuit a S. Laurentio Arch. anno Domini 613, anno 16 ab adventu S. Augustini in Angliam : quo anno translatus fuit corpus S. Augustini a loco quo prius jacuit per 7 annos foras juxta Ecclesiam. . . . Quo admissio, vita decessisse anno 607 dicendus erit.'—*Actt. SS. Bened.* i. 518 n.

politan claims of Canterbury are studiously kept out of sight, and the Pastoral Letter is represented as the joint work of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, who are only servants of the servants of God ; the sanctity of the Britons as well as that of the Scoti is gracefully recognised, and it is confessed that an error had been committed in supposing that the usages in dispute were peculiar to the British Christians alone.¹ But these overtures towards reconciliation necessarily failed. Neither the times nor the circumstances were yet ripe for such a consummation. The repellent forces at work in Britain were more powerful than at that period the attraction to ecclesiastical unity and co-operation. More than a century elapsed before the attempt at fusion and centralisation was renewed. In the meantime the Canterbury Mission was brought to the very brink of utter destruction. It had been the policy of Augustine and his coadjutors to labour in the first instance, almost exclusively, with a view to secure to the Faith the adhesion of the king and his nobles. This method was at the beginning so far successful that it promised the speedy conversion of the several districts or kingdoms. But the success was necessarily transient and abnormal ; the very facility with which the people were influenced by the example of their kings

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 4.

to embrace the new religion betokened an element of weakness. If the conversion of the king was so powerful a persuasive with his subjects in favour of Christianity, would not his apostasy be equally powerful in the contrary direction? And this is just what actually took place in the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and East Anglia. Æthelberht the Christian king of Kent was succeeded on his death by his son Eadbald. A pagan in belief, the hostility of Eadbald to Christianity was further intensified by the restraints that it would impose upon the immorality of his life. Encouraged by his example, a great number, who in the former reign had embraced the Christian scheme of faith and purity only to please Æthelberht, relapsed into their old Pagan ways. A similar reaction arising from a similar cause took place among the East Saxons. In East Anglia the king, Rædwald, although converted at the court of Æthelberht and baptised by Augustine, was persuaded by his wife and pagan teachers to combine with the worship of Christ that of the gods whom he used to serve. The Mission, which had hitherto been an unbroken success, seemed now on all sides so utter a failure that Bishops Mellitus and Justus in despair left their posts and crossed over to the continent. Archbishop Laurence, sharing their despondency, was only prevented from

Temporary
relapse into
heathenism.

following their example by, according to Bæda, the direct interposition of S. Peter. And although the two bishops were afterwards recalled, Justus alone was restored to his diocese ; for the Londoners, in their eagerness to yield obedience to their own idolatrous priests, refused to receive back Bishop Mellitus.¹

These losses in the South-east of England seemed to be amply compensated for by successes north of the Humber. Eadwine the son of Ælla had succeeded, by the help of Rædwald, to the Conversion of Northumbria. throne of Northumbria. When he married Ethelburga, the daughter of Æthelberht and Bertha, it was not only stipulated that there should be no interference with her religion, but the king further promised that he would himself embrace his wife's faith, if, after being examined by wise men, it should be found more holy and more worthy of God. Bishop Paulinus, who accompanied Ethelburga, departing from the lines of the Canterbury Mission, endeavoured, but with no effect, to convert the Pagans of the country. His efforts for the conversion of the king were for some time equally fruitless, until at length he reminded him of the vow of his youth that if he escaped the perils then threatening his life, he would follow the guidance of his unknown consoler. But Eadwine, while announcing his own adhesion to

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 5, 6, 15.

the Christian religion, would not pledge that of his subjects, until he had consulted the Witan. In the assembly the king asked each member in turn what he thought of the new doctrine and worship. After Coifi, the Pagan high-priest, had declared against the old religion, on the ground that the gods failed to help their worshippers, an aged ealdorman spoke of the hopelessness and sadness to the heathen of human life; 'if therefore this new doctrine convey certain knowledge, it rightly deserves to be followed.' The Witan decided to renounce idolatry and to receive the faith of Christ. The king was baptised at York on Easter-day, A.D. 627, in a wooden church hastily erected on the spot where now stands the splendid Minster of that city. All the nobles and a large number of the people followed his example. For six years the king and Bishop Paulinus laboured together for the conversion of the Northumbrians and even of the country south of the Humber.¹ But when Ead-

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 12, 13, 14, 16, 20. Bæda omits to mention what must have predisposed Eadwine to the Faith, that he had been brought up in the Christian court of Cadfan, king of North Wales at Caerseiont. (*Myfyr. Archæol.* ii. 40.) Besides, the additions to the *Historia Britonum* and the *Annales Cambriæ* credit the British Church through the sister Communion of S. Kentigern with a large share in the conversion of Eadwine and his subjects: 'Eadguin vero in sequenti Pascha baptismum suscepit, et xii. millia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire voluerit quis eos baptizavit, Rum map Urbgen baptizavit eos, et per xl. dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus Ambronum, et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt in Christo.'—Nennius, Append.

wine fell in the battle of Hæthfeld, fighting against Cadwallon the British king and Penda of Mercia, a pagan reaction set in ; and Paulinus, taking with him the widow of King Eadwine, returned to Kent, where he was appointed to preside over the vacant see of Rochester.¹ Thus up to this time the work of the Augustine Mission had been fruitless of permanent results everywhere, save in Kent. At the time of the death of Honorius—more than half a century after its first landing—the only suffragan see extant was that of Rochester, about six and thirty miles from its original settlement at Canterbury.

Death of Eadwine, followed by pagan reaction.

The ground thus lost to Christianity in the north of England was recovered through the agency of the North British Christians of Hi. On the death of Eadwine, Northumbria was divided into the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira ; the former under Eanfrid, the eldest of the sons of Æthelfrith, and the latter under Osric, cousin-german of Eadwine. Both of them had been baptised, but the two alike, renouncing the Faith, yielded to the reaction in favour of the old idolatry of the country, which followed the overthrow of Eadwine. Their

Christianity restored among the Northumbrians by S. Aidan of Hi.

(*M. H. B.* 76). ‘DLXXXII. Annus. Etguin baptizatus est, et Run filius Urbgen baptizavit eum.’—*Ann. Camb.* (*M. H. B.* 832).

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* ii. 20.

baneful influence lasted but for a short time. Osric the next summer was killed, for, besieging Cadwallon, the latter suddenly sallied out and destroyed him and all his army. Eanfrid soon after was murdered at an interview which he had sought with the same Cadwallon, with a view to sue for peace. Oswald, who was connected by blood with the royal race of Bernicia and Deira, was then chosen king of the two kingdoms. Baptised and taught by the North British Christians, Oswald sent to Hi for a bishop, to help him to bring his people back to the pale of Christianity. The first whom they ordered, in response to this request of the king, to proceed to Northumbria was Corman. His austere and severe disposition rendered him unfit for the work. Vexed and despairing of success, Corman returned home; and S. Aidan, a man of the greatest meekness, piety, and moderation, was appointed his successor. Fixing his episcopal see in Lindisfarne, which, from a monastery already existing there, was afterwards called Holy Island, S. Aidan, assisted by a band of Columban missionaries, succeeded in restoring Christianity among the Northumbrians.¹ The Christian character of the Court of Northumbria led again to the conversion of the Mercians. For during a visit which Peada, the son of Penda of Mercia, paid his sister, the wife of Oswiu, the brother and successor

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 1, 3, 5, 6, 14.

of Oswald, he embraced the faith of Christ and was baptised. Returning home, he brought with him four priests, Cedda, Adda, Beth, and Diuma. Their preaching was eminently successful, the common people as well as the nobles embracing the faith of Christ. On the death of Penda, Oswiu, the Christian king of Northumbria, extended his power over Mercia and East Anglia, and the result was the further extending and strengthening of the Columban Missions. S. Aidan had been succeeded by S. Finan, who had likewise been brought up at Hi; and now S. Finan consecrated Diuma to be the first bishop of the Mercians, and, Sigebert, king of Essex, having been converted through the persuasion of Oswiu, Cedda to be bishop of the East Saxons. The episcopal seat of Cedda was fixed in London.¹

In the meantime the Church of Canterbury, strengthened by the successful missionary labours of Felix in East Anglia and Berinus in Wessex, was slowly recovering itself.² Again advancing northward, it necessarily came soon into collision with the North British clergy of Hi. Strong in its superior organisation, and in the prestige which it derived through direct communion with the See of Rome, it gradually absorbed the whole of England, and for the space of about twenty years established

Renewed
strength and
extension of
the English
Church.

¹ Bæda, iii. 21, 22.

² *Ibid.* ii. 15; iii. 7.

itself even in the Pictish territory, which considered S. Columba as its Apostle. It then turned its energies westward, and succeeded in persuading the Welsh to adopt the Roman Easter. From this incident may be dated the virtual subjection of the British Church to that of Canterbury, although the claims involved in the supremacy of the latter were for centuries but ill defined, sometimes enforced, sometimes left in abeyance, according to the varying political relations of the two countries.

But although this spiritual subjection, connected as it was with and dependent upon the temporal subjection of Wales to England, had to pass before its final recognition through seasons of silent disregard, and even of open resistance to the claim of jurisdiction by the Archbishop of Canterbury, still at certain intervals we find indications which mark the progress effected on the whole in the work of fusion and centra-

lisation. In A.D. 664, when Deusdedit was
Synod of Whitby. Archbishop of Canterbury, a conference was held at Whitby (Streanes-heale), which was attended by representatives of the English and Scotch or North British Communions. The two rival systems had come into open collision at the court of Oswiu of Northumbria ; for while the king had been instructed and baptised by the Scoti, his queen, Eanfled, daughter of Eadwine, and his eldest son, Alchfred,

owed their knowledge of Christianity to the clergy of Canterbury. At this conference, under the cover of deciding the tonsure controversy and the proper time for keeping Easter, the real point at issue was, which of the two Communions, that of S. Columba with its essentially monastic organisation, or that of Canterbury with its secular ministry, should prevail in England. After Oswiu had spoken of the desirableness of uniformity in ecclesiastical observances, and of the duty with that object of enquiring which was the truest tradition, the discussion on the Easter question was carried on by Bishop Colman, and by Agilbert, late Bishop of Dorchester, and particularly by Wilfrid, afterwards Archbishop of York, an uncompromising assertor of whatever was Roman. Colman gently urged, in defence of the British and Scottish usage, the authority of the example of S. John, of Anatolius the ecclesiastical historian, and of S. Columba and his holy successors. In reply, Wilfrid, with a haughty contempt for the arguments of Colman, which he made no effort to conceal, denied the relevancy of the argument derived from the example of the Apostle, inasmuch as his practice, he alleged, was an accommodation necessary at the time to Jewish prejudices ; Anatolius, he asserted, was against and not in favour of Colman's view. As for the deference due to local saints, he appealed to the supreme authority of

S. Peter, and to the unanimous testimony of the Universal Church, in favour of the Roman Easter. At this point the king, who felt himself not competent to weigh the force of the arguments adduced, asked the Scotch Bishop, whether it was true, as Wilfrid represented, that S. Peter held the keys of heaven. 'Unquestionably!' replied Colman. 'Then,' answered Oswiu, 'he is the doorkeeper, whom I will not contradict, lest, when I come to the gates of heaven, there should be no one to open them, if he is my adversary.' This argument carried over the whole assembly; Bishop Colman and his adherents, unconvinced, returned to their western monasteries, while the elder Chad (Cedda), with probably the mass of English Christians, submitted to the Roman Rule.¹

At the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 710), the English Communion succeeded in securing for a

Submission
of the Picts
to the ob-
servance of
the Roman
usage in
respect to
Easter.

time the possession of the Pictish kingdom. Bæda's account of this temporary displacement of the Columban Church by that of Augustine is as follows: King Nechtan, after much meditation, was persuaded of the correctness of the Roman usages in respect to Easter and the tonsure. Anxious to convert his subjects to their adoption, he sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Weremuth, to ask for the help of his arguments. In compliance

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* iii. 25, 26.

with this request, Ceolfrid wrote a long Letter, wherein he explained the cycle of nineteen years, tracing its history from Apostolic times down to Dionysius Exiguus; the British tonsure he denounced as the one used by Simon Magus. So great, according to Bæda, was the effect of the reading of this Letter, that the king immediately issued a command, to which both the clergy and people yielded a joyous obedience, enjoining conformity to the instructions of Ceolfrid.¹ The Annals, however, give another version of the history of this change, representing it as the outcome of the individual will of the king; and that so far from being a popular movement, it was not accomplished without the expulsion of the native clergy, and the introduction of another ministry of a different race and different ecclesiastical organisation.²

The English Church was now supreme throughout the North, with the exception of the Isle of Hi and the province of the Dalriadian Scots. In vain had Adamnan a few years before urged the society of Hi to conform to the Roman Ritual. During his stay in England, whither he had been sent on an embassy to Aldfrith, king of the Northern Saxons, to seek a redress of injuries committed by Aldfrith's

The Columban monks of Hi also at length yield obedience.

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* v. 21.

² A.D. 710. 'Expulsio familie Ie trans dorsum Britannie a Nectano rege.'—*Ann. Tigern.* (O'Connor, ii. 74).

subjects on the territory of Meath and its inhabitants, Adamnan observed that the usages of his Church differed from those of the Universal Church. On his return home, he endeavoured to persuade the monks of Hi and those of the associate monasteries to adopt the Roman observance of Easter, but he could not prevail. His authority as Abbot-in-chief, or Archimandrite, was undoubtedly great, but as it was limited to things lawful, he could not effect a change in fundamentals without the consent of the whole community. Within, however, eleven years after his death, in A.D. 716, Easter was observed at Hi according to the Roman mode;¹ the acceptance of the coronal tonsure was also agreed to, but this latter change, involving a physical preparation, could not at once be carried out, and two years elapsed before it became the established usage of the Columban Rule.² This surrender of their traditional peculiarities is attributed to the efforts of Egbert, an English monk but a resident at Hi. It is obvious, however, that there were several causes at work which could not fail to contribute to this result: the influence of the example

¹ The *Saxon Chron.* and Bæda assign to the year 716 the death of King Osred, and Bæda fixes the adoption by the Columban monks of Hi of the Roman Easter in the year 'quo, Osredo occiso, Coenredus gubernacula regni Northumbrorum recepit.'—*H. E.* v. 22.

² A.D. 718. 'Tonsura corona super Hiienses monachos imposita.' *Ann. Tigern.* (O'Conor, ii. 229).

of Adamnan, the passing of the neighbouring Picts to the Roman obedience, and the absorbing ascendancy which the idea of ecclesiastical union was now acquiring over men's minds.

The Britons subject to Wessex had already conformed in A.D. 705.¹ From 688 to 726 Ine ruled over Wessex. Waging war against the Britons, he wrested from them Somersetshire and Devonshire; and building Taunton as a frontier fortress, he thus effectually and finally severed the South-west Britons from their kindred in Wales. The policy of extermination which at first characterised the English invasion, had now given place to milder measures, and we find the Britons conquered by Ine now placed under the protection of the laws,² to be gradually incorporated with his English subjects. The conversion of these Britons to the Church of the conquerors naturally engaged the immediate attention of the king and the English ecclesiastics. A Synod was held, at which, after much discussion, it was determined to abstain from force, and to rely solely upon the powers of persuasion. Aldhelm was requested to urge upon them the acceptance of the Roman Easter. The thankless feeling towards Ald-

The Welsh conform to the Roman Easter.

¹ Bæda, *H. E.* v. 18.

² *Leges Inæ regis Westsaxiæ ap Chron. Johannis Bromton.* (Twysden, 764, 767).

helm with which William of Malmesbury credits these Britons¹ would indicate what under the circumstances would not unnaturally be the case, that the success which attended his efforts was due at the time more to the influence of the king, and the fear of the Britons of incurring his anger, than to any sincere conviction on their part of the disinterested love of Aldhelm towards them, or of the irresistible force of his arguments. In A.D. 755 or 768 Elfod, Bishop of Bangor, persuaded the North Welsh to follow the same course.² The South Welsh refused to submit. So jealous, however, at this period were the English of any assertion of spiritual independence on the part of the Welsh people, that, in consequence of this refusal to conform, they invaded South Wales. A battle was fought at Hereford, in which, although a British Bishop called Cyfelach was slain, the Welsh were victorious.³

¹ *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* v. 215.

² 'Oed Crist 755 y symudwyd y Pasg yng Ngwynedd o gyngor Elfod escob Bangor, ond nis caid hynny gan yr escobion eraill.' *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., in *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 6. The *Annals Cambrie* and the *Brut* (ed. Williams Ab Ithel) agree in attributing the change to the influence of Elfod, but date it thirteen years later: 'CCXXIV. Annus. Pascha commutatur apud Brittones (super Dominicam diem), emendante Elbodugo homine Dei.' (*M. H. B.* 833.) 'DCCLXVIII. Deg mlyned a thrugein a seith cant oed oet Crist pan symudwyt Pasg y Brutanyeit drwy orchymyn Elbot gwr y Duw.'—P. 6.

³ 'Achaws hynny y daethant y Saeson ar y Cymry yn Neheubarth, lle be cad Coed Marchan, a gorfuwyd ar y Saeson yn anrhydeddus.'—*Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., *Arch. Camb.* x. p. 6. The other *Brut* (ed. Williams

But a few years later (A.D. 777) witnessed the formal submission of the South Wales dioceses also,¹ although the attempt made on the death of Elfod (A.D. 809), by the Bishops of Llandaff and Menevia to return to the old British Easter,² and the late introduction of the nineteen years' cycle in the *Liber Landavensis* and the *Brut y Tywysogion*,³ indicate the reluctance with which the change was accepted and the slowness with which it came into general use.

The relation temporal and spiritual of Wales towards England now entered upon a new phase. Hitherto the whole west coast had been indiscriminately called by the English Wales, or the country of the 'Wealas,' but in the ninth century the name came to be used in its more restricted and modern sense as exclusively descriptive of a particular district, conterminous for the most part with Wales of the present day. Another change resulting from the now circumscribed extent of the territory of the Welsh, but contributing

Wales passes into a state of vassalage to the English Kings.

Ab Ithel) fixes the date of the battle, 'DCCLX. Trugein mlyned a seith cant oed oet Crist pan vu brwydyr y rwg y Brytanyeit ar Saeson yg gweith Henfford.'—P. 6. The presence and the fall in battle of a Bishop Cyfelach rests upon the evidence of the Gwentian Form of the *Brut y Tywysog.*, *Arch. Camb.* x. p. 6. A bishop of that name appears in a traditional list of the bishops of Glamorgan.—*Iolo MS.S.* 361 n.

¹ *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Lib. Landav.* (241, 242) in anno 1022 ; *Brut y Tywysog.* (*M.H.B.* 851) in anno 1005.

to its unification, took place about the same time. In A. D. 843 or 844 Rhodri Mawr succeeded his father Mervyn. His reign marks the beginning of a new epoch. Henceforth, instead of a number of petty princes or chieftains, acting independently of each other, we find the Welsh people endeavouring to secure for the whole of Wales a certain unity of government and policy under a recognised headship. The struggle between the Welsh and the English still continued, but the struggle had now changed its character. The Welsh are no longer fighting for their lives and their religion, nor even for the unimpaired maintenance of their territory. The West-Saxon rulers, who had now succeeded in bringing all the English kingdoms under their rule, were content to leave the Welsh in undisturbed possession of their country, provided their kings consented to become the men or vassals of the kings of Wessex, and thus by the homage of fealty acknowledge themselves to be members of the English Empire. Hemeid king of Dyfed, dreading the power of the six sons of Rhodri Mawr, who, on the death of their father, claimed the sovereignty of South Wales, and Howel king of Glewyssieg, Brochmael and Fernmael, kings of Gwent, and Helised, king of Brecknock, suffering from the violence and tyranny of Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia, sought the protection of Ælfred, the king

of the West-Saxons.¹ The fable of the horse and the stag found another illustration. Receiving Ælfred's protection, these Welsh kings became his direct vassals. How much this vassalage involved appears from the conditions on which Ælfred received the subsequent submission of Anarawd, the son of Rhodri. Anarawd was to be obedient to the king's will in all respects, in the same way as Æthelred; the relation of Æthelred, holding by Ælfred's own appointment a kind of delegated royalty in what remained of the Mercian 'Kingdom,' being taken as the type and measure of the obedience due from the Welsh kings.²

The changes effected in the direction of the absorption of the Welsh Church into the English were equally great. From the beginning of the ninth century instances begin to recur where Welsh bishops are said to have been consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury. The first authentic instance is the consecration (A.D. 874) to the see of S. David's of Hubert the Saxon or Lambert (for he is called by various names) by Archbishop Æthelred.³ The

Henceforth bishops of S. David's and Llandaff said to be consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury.

¹ Asser, *De Reb. Gest. Ælfredi* (M. H. B. 488).

² 'Regis dominio cum omnibus suis eadem conditione subdidit, ut in omnibus Regiæ voluntati sic obediens esset, sicut Æthelred cum Merciiis.' *Ibid.* (M. H. B. 488).

³ A.D. 872. 'Æthelredus Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus. Hic . . .

oppressed state at this time of S. David's suggests the probability that this extension of the spiritual power of Canterbury was due to causes similar to those which brought about the temporal supremacy of Ælfred. During the episcopate of Einion or Novis, Hubert's predecessor, S. David's had been repeatedly plundered by Hemeid, king of Dyfed,¹ and nothing seems more natural under the circumstances than that the clergy of S. David's, to secure the powerful protection of Ælfred against the rapacity of their own native princes, should on the death of Einion accept, if not apply for, the appointment of a Bishop, intimately connected ecclesiastically and by race with England. The non-existence of a Welsh Metropolitanship, and the consequent absence of any fixed rule in the Welsh Church as to the bishops upon whom the duty and privilege devolved of consecrating others, would render the clergy of S. David's less sensible of the injurious tendency of such a step in its bearing upon the spiritual independence of their country. In the last half of

post Lunverd Episcopum Sancti David, Cantuariæ consecravit.'—R. de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.* (Twysden, 451). 'Oed Crist 871, bu farw Einion Fonheddig Escob Mynyw, ac y gwnaethpwyd Hubert Sais yn Escob yn ei le ef.'—*Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 14; 'Lwmbert of Mynyw.' *Brut.* in anno 874 (*M. H. B.* 845). 'CCCCXXX. Annus, Llundwerth Episcopus consecratur.'—*Ann. Camb.* (*M. H. B.* 835).

¹ Asser, *De Reb. Gest. Ælfredi* (*M. H. B.* 487).

this same century Bishops of Llandaff, Cyfeiliawg and Libau, are also said to owe their consecration to Archbishops of Canterbury.¹ This exercise of power on the part of the English Metropolitan seems to have been only temporary. But the interference of Eadgar king of England (A.D. 958-962) in a dispute between Owen king of Deheubarth and Morgan king of Morganwg, and the acquiescence of the contending sides in his decision, show how real the supremacy of the English Church was now becoming. Owen claimed from Morgan the districts of Ewyas and Ergyng, both included in the Cantref of Gwent Uwchcoed. Eadgar, who not improbably was at the time at Caerleon-on-Usk,² summoned the two under-kings to his presence. After the case had been fully argued, the English King decided, with the approving consent of his council, consisting of the lords of territory, earls and bishops, in Wales and Mercia, that the two districts should belong for ever to the Kingdom of Morganwg and to the diocese of Llandaff.³ A few years after this incident,

¹ Vide supra.

² *Brut y Tywysog.*, Gwent., in *Arch. Camb.* 3rd series, x. p. 28.

³ *Id. ibid.* p. 26. In the *Lib. Landav.* the ecclesiastical element is put forward in an exaggerated form: 'Communi vero assensu et testimonio omnium Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, et Abbatum, Comitum, et Baronum totius Angliæ et Walliæ factum est' (p. 238). The Brut has the name of Howel for that of his son Owen, incorrectly, for Howel died in 950, five years before Eadgar was king of Mercia and

notices of the consecration of South Wales by the Archbishops of Canterbury begin to recur again ; and although the dates and names cannot in every instance be reconciled, there can be no doubt of the general fact. No resistance seems to have been made to this exercise of power ; when subsequently it was disclaimed and withstood, the opposition was caused not so much by ecclesiastical considerations as by the advantage taken of it by the Norman Kings to force foreign bishops upon Welsh sees. The old bitterness between the two Churches had now so died away, that we find Trahaiarn, bishop of S. David's, acting as Vicar to Æthelstan the English bishop of Hereford, who from his blindness was not able for thirteen years to discharge without help the functions of his office.¹

The Norman dynasty gave to the English episcopate a unity of purpose and force of will which before it had not possessed. A succession of men strongly imbued with the spirit of centralisation now filled the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. Hitherto claims of jurisdiction over the Welsh Church had not been directly raised, but in A.D. 1093-1104, Archbishop Anselm

The Norman Conquest imparts fresh strength to the idea of ecclesiastical centralisation at Canterbury.

Northumbria, and eight years before he became king of England.—*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (M. H. B. 389).

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chron.* anno 1055 (M. H. B. 608).

placed Herwald, bishop of Llandaff, under an interdict, forbidding the recognition of the orders of those ordained by him.¹ Of the cause of this interference no record has been preserved. The suspension of Wilfrid, bishop of S. David's, by the same archbishop² has with great probability been conjectured to have been occasioned by Wilfrid conniving at, if not consenting to, the alienation of a certain portion of the patrimony of his see in favour of Gerald de Windsor, a Norman baron. Such a yielding to Norman rapacity would certainly seem to Anselm, who, under similar circumstances, had braved the anger of the powerful William II., a grievous betrayal of trust, rendering the offender unworthy, for a

¹ 'De fratre illo quem dicitis esse ordinatum a quodam episcopo, qui a nobis est interdictus, hoc respondeo; qui si ordinatus est ab episcopo de Walis, qui vocatur Herewardus, nec illis ordinibus, quos ab illo accepit, nostra concessione aliquando utetur, nec ab ullo episcopo reordinari debet.'—*S. Anselm*, lib. iii. Epist. 23. (Migne, *Patrologia*, clix. 52, 53.)

² '(A.D. 1095, in quadam ecclesiola, Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuar.) Vilfrido Episcopo S. David de Gualis, qui vulgo Dewi vocatur, ipsa hora reddidit Episcopale officium; a quo, exigente culpa ejus, jam antea ipsemet illum suspenderat.'—Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* ii.; Migne, *Patrologia*, clix. col. 392. The Welsh Chronicles, however, give a different colouring to both the suspension and restoration,—that Wilfrid or Gryffydd, although a Welshman (*Sim. Dun. ap. Twysden*, 236), was raised to the Episcopate through Norman influence on the second resignation of Bishop Sulien in 1083, but that a few years later he was ousted by a native party to make room for Rhyddmarch, son of Sulien; that on the death of Rhyddmarch he was again through the same influence reinstated in the bishopric. Both accounts, however, point to external interference.

time at least, to fill the high office of a bishop. The Norman nominees, who are now forced upon the Welsh sees, in spite of the protests of clergy and people, hesitate not to profess obedience to the Archbishops of Canterbury.¹ Thus, one by one, the notes of the independence of a Church disappeared; and when Archbishop Baldwin, in A.D. 1188, accompanied by Ranulphus de Glanville the Justiciary, passed through Wales preaching the Crusade, he omitted not to visit each of the Welsh cathedrals, celebrating without let or hindrance at the high altar, in virtue of his undisputed supremacy over the Welsh Church.²

The subjugation of the Welsh Church brought with it an evil which, perpetuated through so many generations down to the nineteenth century, has rendered it almost impossible for Welshmen to realise the true nature and origin of spiritual jurisdiction. It was the

The forcing upon the Welsh Church of bishops ignorant of the language and hostile to the feelings of the people.

¹ 'Ego Urbanus electus et a te consecrandus Clamorgatensis Ecclesiæ antistes, quæ in Walis sita est, canonicam obedientiam tibi promitto, et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonice succedentibus, o Anselme, Santæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, et totius Britannie Primas.'—*Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant.* No. 1; and *MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. 1* (Haddon and Stubbs, *Concilia*, p. 303). This profession of obedience to Canterbury on the part of the Bishop of Llandaff took place in 1107; it was followed by a similar profession from Bernard, Bishop of S. David's, in 1115; from David, Bishop of Bangor, in 1120; and from Gilbert, Bishop of S. Asaph, in 1143.

² 'In singulis cathedralibus ecclesiis, tanquam investituræ ejusdam signum, missam celebravit.'—*Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambr.* ii. 1; *Opp.* vi. 105.

policy of the Norman kings and their successors to stamp out the national character of the Welsh people, with a view to their thorough assimilation to their English subjects. Unhappily, the Episcopate in Wales was made the instrument for carrying out this policy. Hence the forcing upon the Welsh Church of Bishops generally alien, often rapacious, always antagonistic to the national sentiment, and always prepared to betray the interests of the people under their care to the English kings. Knowledge of the language, connection by blood with the Welsh princes, anything, in short, that betokened a feeling of sympathy with the hopes and fears of the people, was considered a disqualification for the Episcopal office.¹ During several centuries, Bishops in Wales were essentially a hostile garrison, bound to the English Crown by ties of gratitude for the past, and

¹ 'Ea namque tempestate quasi regulare in Anglia fuit, quod nemo Walensis vel etiam in Wallia natus, quamvis Anglicus et dignitate dignissimus, propter mores qui a convictu contrahi solent, episcopus in Wallia præficiendus; sed magis de Anglia oriundus, quanquam ibi vilissimus et quasi pro nullo reputatus, cuilibet in Wallia nato et quantumlibet honesto et laudatissimo præferendus.'—*Gir. Cambr. De I. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. i.; Opp. iii. 121.* King John assigns as an insuperable objection to the appointment of Giraldus that he was connected with Rhys, Prince of South Wales, and with almost all the Welsh chieftains (*De Reb. a se Gest. i. 10; Opp. i. 43*). Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Innocent III. (A.D. 1199), to dissuade him from consecrating Giraldus, lays stress upon the fact that Giraldus was 'natione Wallensis, plerosque Walliæ magnates vel sanguine vel affinitate contingens.'—*De Invect. i. 1; Opp. iii. 14.*

of common hatred towards the native Welsh.¹ But it has pleased God never to leave His Church in its hour of need without a witness to its mission as a home of holiness of thought and act, with tenderness to want and sorrow. The monks, by their munificent charity, and the Franciscan friars, by preaching the Gospel as emphatically the religion of the poor and the oppressed, kept the salt from entirely losing its savour; and while cathedrals and bishops' palaces were, during this period, burnt down in Wales, as symbols and nurseries of foreign secular domination, monasteries and friars' houses possessed a national character which rendered them sacred to the Welsh people.²

¹ The Welsh princes, in a Letter to Innocent III. (A.D. 1203), pray for protection against this injustice: 'Quoties Anglici in terram nostram et nos insurgunt, statim Archiepiscopi Cantuarienses totam terram nostram sub interdicto concludunt; et nos, qui pro patria nostra solum et libertate tuenda pugnamus, nominatim, et gentem nostram in genere, sententia excommunicationis involvunt; et id ipsum Episcopis nostris, quos ipsi ad libitum suum nobis, ut diximus, creant, et qui eis in hoc libenter obediunt, faciendum injungunt. Unde accidit, ut quoties in bellicis conflictibus pro patria tuenda cum gente inimica congregimur, quicunque ex parte nostra ceciderint, excommunicati cadunt.' *Id. De I. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. iv.; Opp. iii. 245.*

² When Bishop Anian of St. Asaph accused Llywelyn of wronging the monasteries, and of insulting and injuring monks, the abbots of Alba Domus, Strata Florida, Cwmhir, Strata Marcella, Aberconwy, Cymmer, and Crucis Abbey, warmly defended him to Pope Gregory X., denying the truth of the charge, and praying the Pope not to believe what the bishop had said to the disadvantage of Llywelyn (A.D. 1274): 'Qui vobis hoc suggessit, apertissime falsum dixit. Immo tutor strenuus ac præcipuus ordinis nostri, singulorumque ordinum et ecclesiasticarum

After the Reformation, in consequence of the better feeling which had sprung up between the English and the Welsh upon the accession to the throne of Henry VII., and the passing of a statute, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, giving to Wales the same laws and liberties as those enjoyed by England, several native Bishops were appointed to Welsh sees. But the Revolution re-introduced the

The abuse by the State for political purposes of the spiritual powers of the Episcopate leading to worldliness and deadness to religion.

in Wallia personarum, extitit dictus Princeps, tam pacis quam guerre temporibus retroactis. Unde uestre Sanctissime Paternitati flexis genibus humiliter supplicamus, quod Diuine caritatis intuitu non credatis alias prædicto Episcopo Assauensi de prefato Principe talia refferenti, uel consimilia, que ejus famam ualeant denigrare.’—*Lib. Rub. Assav.*; *Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 65. Quoted in *Concilia*, vol. i. 499. This language may be considered as an index to the friendly relations that always existed between the Welsh princes and the religious houses, and to the hostility of the two to the Bishops. In 1404 Owain Glyndwr besieged the town of Cardiff, ‘and burnt the whole, except one street in which the Friars Minors resided, which with the convent he spared on account of the love he bare them. He afterwards took the castle and destroyed it, carrying away a large quantity of treasure which he found deposited there. When the Friars Minors besought him to return them their books and chalices which they had lodged in the castle, he replied, “Wherefore did you place your goods in the castle? If you had kept them in your convent, they would have been safe.”’ (Leland, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 389.) Unfortunately for the Franciscans, the protection of the Welsh princes only made the English kings more bent upon their destruction. Their head-quarters for North Wales—the priory at Llanvaes, founded by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth—Henry IV. plundered when he invaded Anglesey; killing some of the inmates, he carried the rest away with him, replacing them with Englishmen. The monastery of Pen Rhys, of the same Order, situate on the hill above the valleys of the Rhondda, was destroyed, and its possessions sold by Henry V. for siding with Owain Glyndwr and his party. (*Arch. Camb.* No. xxiii. p. 264.)

old policy of grasping at and using, through the Episcopate, the Church's power for secular purposes. The Welsh nation, with the Celtic attachment for the supposed representatives of their ancient blood, clung tenaciously to the cause of the Stuarts. There can be little doubt that, although only one Welshman of position ¹ was tried and executed for active participation in the rising of 1745, almost all the Welsh nobility were seriously compromised, and that, if the march southward had prospered, the whole Principality would have openly espoused the side of Charles Edward.² To attempt to suppress this national sentiment through the medium of an Episcopate,

¹ David Morgan. He was hanged, with Francis Towneley and six others, on Kensington Common on the 30th of July, 1746. A very interesting account is given of David Morgan in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1861, pp. 297-334.

² Mr. John Murray of Broughton, Prince Charles's secretary, but who afterwards turned king's evidence, in his evidence before the Select Committee mentioned the name of Sir Watkin Wynn as privy to and most active in all measures relating to the rising.—Mahon's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii.; *Hardwicke Papers*, Appendix, lxxiv. Murray's testimony is confirmed by a Letter found among the papers taken at Culloden, and dated from Paris long after the battle of Gladsmuir and before the march into England; the writer names the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Orrery, Sir W. Wynn, Sir J. H. Cotton, Lord Barrymore, as those with whom he had corresponded and who were connected with and trusted by all the Royalists in the kingdom.—*Ibid.* vol. iii. Appendix, lxxxv. Prince Charles was well aware how strongly the Welsh people were in his favour, for when at a council held at Derby he had failed to persuade Lord George Murray and others to advance to London, at last he proposed, as a middle course between that and the proposed retreat to Scotland, to march into Wales, to give their partisans in that country an opportunity of joining.—*Ibid.* vol. iii. ch. xxviii. 273.

Hanoverian in politics and Latitudinarian in theology, became the constant aim and determination of the English government. These Bishops, conscious of the bitterness of feeling with which the Welsh people regarded them, and in some instances dreading personal violence,¹ spent most of their time in England, delegating the supervision of their dioceses to their relatives, upon whom, regardless of the injustice it involved to the native clergy and of the spiritual interests of the Church, they conferred every post of honour and power.² Of these episcopal

¹ The Welsh people were so exasperated when they heard that Hoadley had been appointed Bishop of Bangor, that they almost murdered an unfortunate Irish bishop whom they met on the borders, and who they had been led to think was the English bishop coming to take possession of the Welsh see. This outrage so frightened Hoadley that, during the six years (1715-1721) he was Bishop of Bangor, he never set foot in the Principality, and was most anxious to be translated to another bishopric. A similar incident had taken place six centuries before: 'Est autem Pangor monasterium in Walliis etc. Hic cum Episcopatu fungeretur Herveus, gentem efferam nimia austeritate tractabat, videns tantam in moribus eorum perversitatem, quam nemo facile posset tolerare. Unde, quod Episcopali timori nullam servabant reverentiam, gladium bis acutum ad eos domandos exercuit, nunc crebro anathemate nunc propinquorum et aliorum hominum eos coercens multitudine. Nec minor fuit eorum contra eum rebellio. Tanto periculo ei insistebant, ut fratrem ejus perimerent, simili modo eum punituri si possent in eum manus injicere. Expavit Episcopus ingruens infortunium, plurimisque suorum interfectis aut graviter vulneratis, videns quod anima sua quæreretur, ut congruos haberet defensores, ad Regis Angliæ confugit patrocinium, utile sibi consecutus exsilium.'—*Anglia Sacra*, i. 679.

² It has been calculated that at the time of the death of Bishop Luxmoore, the bishop and his relatives, together with the relatives and connections of his predecessors, Bishops Horseley and Bagot, twelve

nominees, it should be remembered that not one could minister in the language 'understood of the people.' Under the baneful influence of this shameless nepotism, a tide of religious indifference set in; Christianity came to be regarded in its highest ideal as only a system of morality whose special claim for acceptance upon society was its conservative tendency, and upon individuals the worldly advantages that generally followed in its wake. Many of the Welsh clergy sank to the secular level of the country squires of those days, whose drinking excesses they excused and not rarely countenanced by actual participation. The truth, that the Church is the mystical Body of Christ, from whence, according to the ordinary course of Gospel graces, the Mediator's gifts of holiness and knowledge proceed downward to the members, must have seemed to the earnest-minded to be contradicted by actual experience, and their faith failing them, a door was thus being opened for the belief that the essence of religion consisted solely in the relation of the individual soul to God. Outwardly, indeed, there were as yet no signs that the Church had lost her hold over the people; no apparent falling off in the number of worshippers; the parishioners neglected not to communicate upon the

persons in all, were in the annual receipt from the diocese of S. Asaph of no less than £25,000, while the whole sum expended upon the general body of the resident clergy amounted only to about £18,591. (Johnes, *On the Causes of Dissent in Wales*, pp. 217-219.)

great festivals ; saint-days continued to be observed, although they had degenerated in many places into occasions of public trials of muscular strength and activity, ending oftentimes in scenes of rioting and brutal violence.¹ But in this traditionary and formal adherence to Church usages there was no element of durability ; it was only the momentum, the force of which had not spent itself, communicated by the truer teaching of other days. During the whole of the eighteenth century the total number of Welsh Bibles printed under the auspices of the Church only amounted to eighty thousand.² How significant is

¹ I was lately discussing this subject with an educated Welsh church-woman of the advanced age of eighty years ; her mother, who had also always lived in Merionethshire, was eighty-four years old when she died, so that my informant would be an authority for the outward condition of the Church about the middle of the eighteenth century. Her testimony fully bears out the above summary, and negatives the conclusion at which Mr. A. J. Johnes had arrived, ‘that before the rise of Methodism in Wales, the churches were as little attended by the great mass of the people as now.’ (*On the Causes of Dissent in Wales*, ch. ii. p. 26.) The correctness of my view is also evidenced by the circumstance that during the last half of the eighteenth century surreptitious editions of the Prayer-book in Welsh were published at Wrexham and Shrewsbury. Booksellers would not have ventured upon these private speculations, if there had not existed a feeling of strong attachment to the Church and a desire to obtain the Book of Common Prayer at any price.

² 1718, Moses Williams, octavo,	query if 10,000 copies.
1727, another octavo, by Moses Williams,	query if 10,000 ,,
1746 and 1752, octavo 	30,000 ,,
1799, octavo 	20,000 ,,
1799, another edition	10,000 ,,
	80,000

I have not reckoned the folio edition of 1789 ; this was intended for churches, and could rarely be purchased by private individuals.

this fact, whether we regard it as the result of indifference to the spiritual needs of the Welsh people, or, which the probabilities of the case would suggest, as a part of the policy of trying to starve them into the adoption of the English language and English ideas by withholding from them the Word of God in their own tongue! Never, indeed, was the Church in Wales brought nearer to the edge of that precipice over which there is no Divine assurance against the falling of national churches, if they prove unfaithful to their trust. No wonder that, taught by bitter experience, the Welsh mind should entertain almost a morbid dread of State interference in ecclesiastical matters. 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.'

The first impulse towards quickening the spiritual life proceeded from within the Church. Under the influence of a few clergymen, the most prominent of whom were Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands, William Williams, and Thomas Charles, a religious organisation grew up, which in the adoption of itinerancy as its special agency, and in the lay character of its preachers, bore at first a strong resemblance to the Minorite Brethren of S. Francis of Assisi. Its original province was evangelisation, as distinguished from the normal ministerial work of building up the believer in faith and love. While the administration

Origin of
Welsh Calvinistic
Methodism.

of the Sacraments was rigidly restricted to the ordained clergy of the Church, the itinerant preachers might be seen traversing every part of North and South Wales, mounted on the small mountain ponies of the country, clad in a long cloak or mantle, with a small valise fastened behind to the saddle. No village however remote was to them inaccessible, no incident that drew together a concourse of people was allowed to pass away without being turned to account. Of their untiring activity, catching men at every turn in life, and of the way in which they strove to conform themselves almost literally to the example of our Lord, the following illustration may be given. Before the days of steamers and railways, when the trade of North Wales was carried on mainly by small sailing vessels, the launch of a ship was a matter of almost daily occurrence along the coast of Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire ; it never failed, however, to attract a crowd of spectators. Upon such occasions there might always be witnessed a scene which could not fail to remind the beholder of that other scene formerly witnessed on the Sea of Galilee ; the newly-launched ship drawn up within a few yards of the shore, the preacher standing at the prow, and from thence addressing the people as they stood close to the water's edge. The sermons of these preachers might appear sensational, and to the sober-minded

extravagant, but they were admirably adapted in both matter and style to their hearers. Dwelling upon the awfulness of sin, the bodily sufferings of Christ, the universality and perfectness of His sympathy as one of the consequences of the reality of His humanity, their words were no conventional platitudes, but the outpouring of inward convictions. But they were not indifferent to the external requisites of oratory. They studied with the closest attention the persuasive powers of action ; the eye, the hand, every tone of the voice, were brought into play to render their sermons more popular, more dramatic, and therefore more powerful to pierce the incrustations of years of insensibility to religious impressions. Animated as they were by a spirit more than human, we can easily understand the true secret of their influence, without having recourse to the supernatural prodigies which, to the obscuring of their real dignity, have lately been introduced into the history of their labours.¹ They were men of spiritual power, because they were men of spiritual experience.

Looking back at this distance of time, it is by no

¹ *The History of the Calvinistic Methodists* (Welsh), by Rev. John Hughes, is greatly disfigured by hearsay stories of the direct interposition of Heaven in favour of the first Calvinistic preachers ; their opponents are, of course, represented as overtaken with Divine vengeance. Some of the stories gravely introduced into the work are most grotesque ; in one of them a pig is made to play much the same part as the legendary rats of Bishop Haddo.

means difficult to discern the causes which chiefly contributed to convert a movement that might have been the source of fresh life to the Church into a secession that has estranged from her communion thousands of souls. For this sad result the bishops of the Welsh Church during the last half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the present one are indisputably primarily responsible. Ignorant of the national habits of the people and of the powerful influence of sentiment and emotion in Celtic Christianity, they were utterly incapable of understanding the nature of this religious rising of the country, much less of directing its course by encouraging and controlling the aspirations from which it derived its origin and force. The very points they singled out as condemnatory of the movement, are now generally accepted and acted upon as eminently fitted to meet the peculiar wants of the Welsh Church: itinerant preaching, by supplying the inevitable deficiencies of the parochial system in thinly populated extensive parishes, and extempore preaching, by responding to the Welsh craving after passionate oratory. To the Bishops, however, the ideal of the well-being of a Church was the frigid decorum of the English Communion; any deviation from that ideal was to be discouraged, and, if necessary, to be forcibly suppressed. That there was in the movement a tendency to

act independently of external restraints must be admitted. This could hardly be otherwise when we consider not only the subjective tone of all religious revivals, but the obscuraton at that time of the relation in which Episcopacy stands to the Church as not merely an order in her organisation, but the principle of her continuance. But Ecclesiastical History witnesses to the fact, that where the spiritual rulers have had the wisdom to recognise the work of societies of this nature and to give it the sanction of their blessing, the force which attracts and keeps them within the Church's orbit is invariably stronger than the repellent. At the beginning of the present century the movement had drifted away so far from its originally friendly attitude towards the Church, and had acquired an impress so distinctly its own, that it was resolved, at a representative meeting held at Bala in 1810, to provide for its permanence under the name of The Calvinistic Methodists' Association, by conferring Presbyterian ordination upon the most approved of its Lay Preachers. This decision, involving formal separation from the Church, was not arrived at without considerable hesitation, and the secession from the Association of six clergymen out of the twelve hitherto connected with the movement.¹ In the month of June in the following year

¹ *Hist. of the Calvinistic Methodists*, vol. i. p. 457.

eight preachers recommended by the monthly meetings of the several counties of North Wales were set apart at the Bala Association for the ministry by the Reverend Thomas Charles with prayer and the laying on of hands. A few weeks later thirteen others were ordained in a similar manner at the Llandilo Association for South Wales, by the Reverend John Williams of Pant-y-Celyn, and the Reverend John Williams of Lledrod.¹ It has been said that Mr. Charles afterwards bitterly repented of his co-operation in this definitive separation from the Church's corporate organisation, and that his grief was so poignant as to shorten his days.² I am inclined to believe that such a report has no other foundation than Mr. Charles's evident reluctance, when the subject was first discussed, to assent to the proposal, and a certain natural presumption on the part of Churchmen that to a man of his piety and reading the reasons which overruled his judgment would, when the excitement was past, appear in their true light as utterly indefensible. That Mr. Charles should show, even in his outward demeanour, how deeply he felt his responsibility, and that this feeling should affect his health, is not improbable ; but that he entertained any regret for the past, or misgiving as to the future,

¹ *Hist. of the Calvinistic Methodists*, vol. i. p. 462.

² *Johnes, On the Causes of Dissent in Wales*, p. 46.

is contradicted by the hopeful tone of his subsequent correspondence. Writing in June, 1814, a few months before his death, he says: 'We had last week our great annual meeting here (Association). The congregation, though always large, was more numerous, by some thousands, than we have ever witnessed before. . . . When I was young the Lord brought me into His house, and goodness and mercy have followed me all my days; and I have continued, preserved by undeserved powerful grace, to see these wonders of His kingdom. . . . Great additions have been made in general to our churches, last year about 2,000 in all. . . . The Bible societies, the schools, and every good work set on foot, succeed among us; and we hope the kingdom of the little stone will soon fill our land.'¹ This is not the language of a man who is sinking to the grave under the crushing weight of the consciousness that, by assuming the office of transmitting spiritual power, he had been guilty of violating one of the primary conditions which regulate the organic growth of the Church, and that the Association, dis severed from the Divine society, which alone is for eternity, contained within it the seed of inevitable decay and eventually of dissolution. In judging Mr. Charles, however, it should be remembered, in the interests of truth as well as of charity,

¹ *Life of Rev. Thomas Charles*, pp. 376, 377.

how much there was in the condition of the Church at the time to force earnest minds to seek for guidance in the decision of their private feeling. It is, indeed, the want of faith in the ultimate overruling even of evil for good that leads men to attempt to make that straight which for a time God has made crooked. God's work must be done in God's way and in God's time. By prematurely interfering, they only retard that which they most desire. Better and wiser to be still until the tyranny be overpast. But this impatience, which made Mr. Charles and other kindred minds outrun the will of God, has its root in intense love towards the Saviour and the souls whom He lived and died to redeem. To judge, therefore, such men aright, we should look at their resolves and actions in the light of their aims and motives, dissociated from the wrong direction which, owing to human shortsightedness, they took. It is the true judgment, it is probably the key to the right understanding of the merciful judgments of God.

The absence of official returns and the tendency of religious communities to exaggerate the number of their members, render it difficult to estimate the present relative numerical strength in Wales of the Church and of Dissent. If, however, three-fourths of the population be ascribed to the Nonconformists, we shall not err on the side of

Relative
strength of
Church and
of Dissent in
Wales.

unfairness towards the latter. But while each year is modifying in favour of the Church this calculation, it should be noted as a truer index to the character of the religious future of Wales, that while among the Welsh Dissenting bodies piety is degenerating into a series of short-lived emotions, which, stirred up for a moment under the influence of stirring appeals to the feelings, die away amidst the duties and trials of life, there is, on the other hand, in the Church a deepening of the spiritual life, so that the reproach, at one time not altogether groundless, that men with serious convictions could not find a congenial home in the Church, is no longer applicable. A sense of this decay of personal holiness among Nonconformists and of its growth among Churchmen, is bringing about between the truly religious on both sides a greater sympathy, and a clearer recognition of the truth, that in their common faith in a God incarnate we have a proof of their original relationship and a pledge of their ultimate reunion.

We imagine, not without reason, that if a religious as distinguished from a political Welsh Nonconformist were asked by a Churchman, in the privacy of domestic converse, to define his feelings towards the Church, he would return some such answer as the following :—‘ I do not deny the evils which spring from our

The present
and the
future of the
Church from
the stand-
point of a
non-political
Noncon-
formist.

present disunion ; not only is it in contradiction of the prayer of our common Lord, but it involves such a waste of energy as almost to paralyse our efforts against sin and ignorance ; besides, I acknowledge that, notwithstanding the interchange of certain conventional compliments, which deceive no one, at the public meetings of our religious societies, it gives rise to endless jealousies and rivalries. I would therefore heartily join you in prayer for the hastening of the time, when this sad struggle between Church and Dissent shall have ended in one of those happy victories in which there is neither victor nor vanquished, but a restoration of unity, based on the confession by both sides of past misunderstandings, and on the hearty acceptance by us of all truths involved in the belief in the Divinity of our crucified Lord. Your face, my friend, betrays your impatience to ask me, how with these sentiments I have not yet joined the communion of the Church. Bear with me, therefore, while I endeavour to gather under a few heads the reasons which as yet have rendered such a step difficult, if not impossible, for me and many of my co-religionists. I am willing to allow, for no lower interpretation would exhaust the weighty statements of Scripture upon this point, that the Church is not merely a combination of individuals, associating together for religious purposes, but an organic body,

gifted with a Divine life. But when I look abroad, I fail to find in your Church any trace for the last two hundred years of the manifestation of this Divine life in authoritative corporate action, but rather a certain feeling of acquiescence in the suspension of what must be one of the Church's most important functions if she is supposed to possess the faculty of discerning the force of principles and of modifying applications to suit the varying necessities of successive ages. When a dispute arises among you in doctrine or ritual, reference is made, not, if I understand aright, to the indwelling spirit speaking through the living voice of the Church, but to certain documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as interpreted by a tribunal from which every ecclesiastic is now by law excluded, so that it no longer retains even the semblance of a spiritual character. Perhaps if I were as conversant as you are with the history of the various steps which have led to this wide departure from the ecclesiastical judicature of the English Reformation,¹ I should be able

¹ Mr. Gladstone thus summarises the general result of what was then effected: 'The intention of the Reformation, taken generally, was to place our religious liberties on a footing analogous to that on which our civil liberties had long stood. A supremacy of power in making and in administering Church law was to vest in the Sovereign; but in making Church law he was to ratify the acts of the Church herself represented in Convocation; and, if there were need of the highest civil sanction, then to have the aid of Parliament also. And in administering Church law he was to discharge this function through the

to view the matter more calmly, not so much as a voluntary and therefore a culpable surrender by the Church of her inherent rights and liberties, but as the result of encroachments on the part of the temporal power. Looked at in this light, I admit and thankfully acknowledge that the anomaly of which I speak should be considered as only a passing phase in the providential economy of your Church ; but to a Non-conformist like myself, fresh from the writings of S. Paul, this subordination of the Church to the State appears so inconsistent with the Church of God's inalienable spiritual powers, that he cannot at present throw in his lot with you without doing violence to his deepest and most permanent convictions.'

'I confess that there are some things which attract me in your idea that the Episcopate succeeded to the Apostolate, as the organ through which the power of ordaining and of governing was to be exercised. To some of my friends it would be an insuperable objection to this idea, that the New Testament contains no dogmatic direction on the subject ; but to my mind it seems more in harmony with the Scriptural notion of the Church as a living Body, to regard the framework of its ministerial organisation

medium of bishops and divines, canonists and civilians, as her own most fully authorised, best instructed sons.'—*Remarks on the Royal Supremacy* (1865), p. 53.

as the consequence of its organic growth, and not of positive enactment. You tell me that to question the existence of an historically descended Episcopate from the time of the Apostles to this day would be a sin against history. To this statement I have no serious objection to make ; I would only observe, that the more inclined I feel to assent to your views of the Episcopate, the more clearly I perceive in the nomination of your Bishops by the Crown the absence in your Communion of that freedom, which I have been taught is one of the notes of the Church as a Kingdom holding in things spiritual from Christ alone. Pardon me if I anticipate the substance of your reply—that in this exercise of the Royal Supremacy we see the converging of the national will, and that in the subsequent election by the Dean and Chapter of the vacant diocese, and the confirmation at Bow Church, there are ample safeguards against improper appointments being forced upon the Church. How far your theory may have been tenable in days when the Supremacy was that of a personal Sovereign, a member of the Church and sworn to defend her, we need not pause to enquire. Such a state of things has confessedly passed away ; and the appointment of your Bishops now rests with the Premier, as the representative for the time of the majority of an assembly whose

members are not necessarily Churchmen or even Christians ! For your term ' nomination ' I have substituted, advisedly, that of appointment, inasmuch as the other steps you named—election and confirmation—appear to me a sham and a mockery. I will not pain you by dwelling at any length upon such painful features as a Cathedral Body praying for Divine guidance in the choice of a Bishop, when they are debarred by the Act of Præmunire from choosing any other person than the one already named in the Letter missive which accompanies the Royal Licence, or the profanation of God's House and the harm done to the public conscience by the unreality of the proceedings of confirmation in Bow Church. I trust that my words do not sound like reproaches ; but you may rest assured that, until there be a readjustment in the relations between Church and State, which will restore to the former her freedom in a matter so bound up with her life as Episcopal appointments, there is an insuperable obstacle to the restoration of unity. That this is no idle assertion you may infer from the language of some of the Welsh Dissenting organs, who, knowing what arguments are most telling with the people, are never weary of describing the Church as a mere creature of the State, and of expatiating upon the danger to Dissent if the Church were allowed to

put out all her strength, untrammelled by State restraints. The most grateful return I can make for the patience with which you have heard me, and your anxiety to enter into my difficulties, is to tell you that in your endeavours to remove such anomalies as those we have touched upon, Churchmen will have the active sympathy of many Nonconformists, who like myself would consider it sinful to prolong our present isolation one day beyond the continuance of the necessity which caused it, and, as we believe, still justifies it. You will of course infer from what I have said, that I do not think that the time is yet ripe for any formal approach on either side towards reunion. Perhaps, however, the vision of peace, when the Welsh people will be again dwelling together in the bonds of a restored unity, is nearer its fulfilment than the weakness of our faith would allow us to hope. If we would only agree to join in prayer for the truth, and for courage to follow its guidance, we should be advancing with rapid strides towards such a consummation ; and we might not unreasonably cherish the hope that even in our days we should witness the glorious spectacle of believers in a common Saviour, kneeling together before the same altar in token of their union with Him and through Him with each other.'

It does not fall within the scope of this Essay to enquire what measures ought to be adopted to render the Church more generally felt in Wales by all classes as a living power, able and prepared to vary its attitude without departing from its original Divine lines. One consideration should be steadily kept in view, the enduring national characteristics of the Welsh people. Past experience is a warning against perpetuating the notion, that the Church in Wales is so merged in that of England that their hopes and fears are exactly identical. It seems, therefore, a grave error on the part of our Ecclesiastical authorities to speak, as they almost invariably do, of the Church in Wales under the common term of the Church of England. The mischievous tendency of this language is, that it presents to the Welsh mind the Church, not as the continuance of the British Church, or, as it is still fondly called by the natives, 'the Church of our forefathers,' but as an institution of foreign growth, restricted by its very name to the English and wealthier residents in the Principality. Besides, the use in this sense of the term in question, by ignoring the individuality of the Welsh character, obscures the only standpoint from which a true view of the condition of the Church in

Lessons and warnings to be learnt from the past history of the Welsh Church.

Wales can be obtained. There are certain distinctive elements in the Welsh, as in every other race, which as the Church alone can control, so they in their turn when received into her system and transfigured by this contact enlarge the circle of her experience.

Were our faith as great as it ought to be, our attitude towards the future would be that of peaceful trust; hoping nothing, fearing nothing, prepared for everything, except for the impossible contingency of the failure of God's purpose. Sometimes, however, over-anxious hearts will try to forecast the future of this most ancient Church, of which the first foundations are so lost in antiquity that no one can tell with certainty when or by whom they were laid; this Church, which has made good her claim to catholicity by furnishing her contingent of martyrs to the roll of sufferers in the cause of Christ, and by the weight attached to her testimony in favour of the truth of His eternal Personality; this Church, whose monastic institutions were the nurseries of the celebrated communities of Clonard of S. Comgall and of Bangor of S. Finian,—these in their turn to become, by their learning and missionary zeal, the source of light to the whole of Europe; this Church, whose Divine origin has been proved by her inexhaustible vitality, never more wonderfully than by surviving the

paralysing influence of the soulless Erastianism of the last century. What can be foretold of its future condition? Is this Church to be disestablished and to be despoiled of possessions bestowed upon her by her own sons and secured to her by the reverence of ages? We cannot tell: in the history of the Church the course of Providence is oftentimes far otherwise than human conjecture would determine; she has lived and even triumphed without the material help of the State, and, if God wills, she can dispense with it again. Amidst anxieties for the future, the remembrance of the past is a stay and a comfort. The presence of the Son of God in our bark forbids despondency. 'Quid times? Cæsarem vehis.' If she be true to her spiritual character as an integral portion of the mystical Body of Christ; if this belief be reflected in the ministerial faithfulness and personal holiness of her clergy; if with an unhesitating faith in herself as a Divinely inspired society, she hesitate not to bring forth from the stores of the Nazarene householder things old and new for the edification of the people of God, we may humbly trust that she will absorb those among the Non-conformists whom S. Augustine would teach us to regard as already belonging to the soul, although not to the body, of the Catholic Communion. The

pulse quickens and the eyes fill with tears of an emotion too deep for utterance, as we look into the future, and seem to behold the time when the Church will be again the home of the thoughts and resolves of the Welsh people, and when, 'poor though she may be, yet making many rich,' 'her children will arise up, and call her blessed.'

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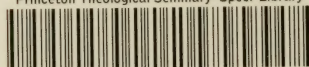
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